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AN **PHOBLACHT** Republican News

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING POLITICAL WEEKLY

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**LAST WEEK WITNESSED** the 19th anniversary of the introduction of internment without trial in the occupied Six Counties of Ireland. It was a week in which the nationalist people of the occupied North displayed their resilience in the face of naked repression in the most militarised state in Western Europe.

As they marched for freedom along the Falls Road, hemmed in on all sides by heavily armed foreign soldiers and members of the paramilitary RUC, they demonstrated that they were not going to be intimidated from their own streets, that they were not going to be cowed by the naked aggression of those forces which had dragged them off to the internment camps

19 years before and who have shown themselves capable of launching murderous attacks on similar marches.

**JOHN DOWNES**

One such attack occurred at the anniversary of internment rally in 1984 when the RUC used the presence of Noraid's Martin Galvin as

the pretext for an armed onslaught which led to the death of one man — John Downes, and the injuring of many others. Martin Galvin was present again at Sunday's rally. His appearance was a testimony to the failure of another British ploy to repress nationalist dissent in the North. It underlined also the utter futility of that attack five years ago and the pointlessness of John Downes' killing.

It showed the futile nature of British attempts to silence the Irish demand for justice and peace. Six years after the British government banned an Irish-American from entering the Six Counties and exercis-

ing his right to free speech, he returned to exercise that right, having beaten the British ban. But as Galvin himself pointed out, the credit for the victory goes to the people who have defended their right to free speech and freedom of information with their lives.

**SECTION 31**

Contrast that commitment to civil rights with the position of those in authority in the 26 Counties who maintain political censorship of a huge section of the Irish people on Britain's behalf. They deny those who are on the receiving-end of British aggression and who demand British withdrawal and Irish unity access to the airwaves through Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act. By the same means they deny the people of the 26 Counties the right to know the views of their fellow countrymen and women in the Six Counties.

The rightful concern in the 26-County media this week for the welfare of Irish citizens in the Middle

East war zone, and how they might be treated by military forces there, was in stark contrast to their total lack of concern about the daily ordeal of Irish citizens under military occupation in their own country.

**FRIENDS WORLDWIDE**

Abandoned and ignored by some, the beleaguered nationalist population of the Six Counties have friends among all freedom-loving people the world over. The West Belfast Festival and the March for Freedom saw visitors from many countries who came to express their solidarity as well as their admiration for an invincible people. They were visited also by ordinary people from many parts of the 26 Counties who stand by their fellow countrymen and women in the North in the historic struggle of the Irish people for national self-determination. Together with their brothers and sisters in the North they share the indomitable spirit of freedom, a spirit which censorship in all its forms cannot subdue.

**CENSORSHIP CANNOT SUCCEED**



● A section of the crowd at Sunday's rally in Belfast, following the March for Freedom

**AN INVINCIBLE PEOPLE**



● Scene of the RUC attack on the anniversary of internment rally in Belfast 1984



## OPINION

### SINKING WITH THE EMPIRES

A FULL-BLOWN WORLD CRISIS like the present one in the Middle East has a nasty habit of exposing the real nature of 26-County foreign policy and of tripping up Irish political figures. The strangest people start saying the strangest things.

Fine Gael deputy-leader John Bruton provided a perfect example on Wednesday when he called for the Dublin government to conclude a deal with the Iranian administration for a huge beef consignment which was originally destined for Iraq.

There was nothing unusual about Bruton making a statement on the issue. He has been grabbing as much publicity as possible in recent weeks as he prepares his bid to challenge Alan Dukes for the party leadership.

What was decidedly unusual was the suggestion that the Dublin agriculture minister should break an EC ban on contact with the Tehran government. Bruton's party has always preached the Euro-gospel with the fire and brimstone of religious bigots. Hell and damnation awaited those who strayed from the sacred path of righteousness laid out by Brussels.

Bruton's 'go-it-alone' policy on the Iran beef deal is in direct contradiction to another of Fine Gael's sacred cows — European union. If the ban on trade with Tehran can be broken so easily by one state, where stands the single European Single Market? Couldn't other countries do exactly the same?

Under the Single European Act, Bruton's proposal would mean an illegal break with a 'European' policy. The logic of his idea is to ditch the Single Market and the SEA — to adopt a genuinely independent and neutral foreign policy. But Bruton and the rest of his party have, with their colleagues in Fianna Fáil and the PDs, campaigned in favour of the SEA. They are bound hand and foot to the multinational companies which aim to make millions out of the trade conditions created by this measure.

Having said all that, Bruton's proposal is perfectly right. Michael O'Kennedy should be dispatched to Iran post-haste and the meat should follow as quickly as possible. The ban on trade with Tehran prevents proper negotiations with the government of President Rafsanjani on a host of issues including the freedom of the Beirut hostage Brian Keenan. It was introduced after a death threat to the author Salman Rushdie but it probably makes it more difficult for Iranian religious leaders and for the government to withdraw the threat.

Of course the Dublin government will not follow this line. Neither would John Bruton, if he were in government. At root, this proposal is nothing more than a press statement designed to enhance a Fine Gael hopeful. It is intended purely to make a headline and Bruton knows he'll never have to act upon it.

But unconsciously he has hit at the root of this state's problems.

Neither Iraq nor any of the Middle Eastern nations have any antagonism towards Ireland. They see in our history a reflection of their own. Ireland didn't deceive Arabs as Britain did during the First World War when it secured their support by promising freedom and then reneged on the deal. Ireland didn't set up Israel or divide the Lebanon along sectarian lines. Britain, France and the US did all that.

By struggling against Britain for their freedom, Irish people share a deep bond with the Palestinians, the conscience of the Arab people. A really independent Irish government could reap the gains of that relationship. Ireland has no oil but it has agricultural products which the oil-rich states badly need.

Instead, we have been bound to the European colonists through the EC at a time when the Arab world is beginning once again to assert its independence from the West. The Dublin governments which shackled us to dying empires have a lot to answer for.

# BELFAST GUN ATTACK



THE BELFAST BRIGADE of the IRA has said that an ASU attached to its command carried out the gun attack on British soldiers patrolling the new security exclusion zone around Belfast High Court on Monday evening, August 13th.

In its statement on the operation the IRA totally rejected an RUC claim that the ambush occurred after the IRA had telephoned a hoax call to the Townhall Street fire station which is behind the new permanent barriers and security gates surrounding the court precincts. The IRA said:

"Two Volunteers had placed themselves in position in Oxford Street covering the permanent barriers at the High Court in Chichester Street. It was their intention to at-

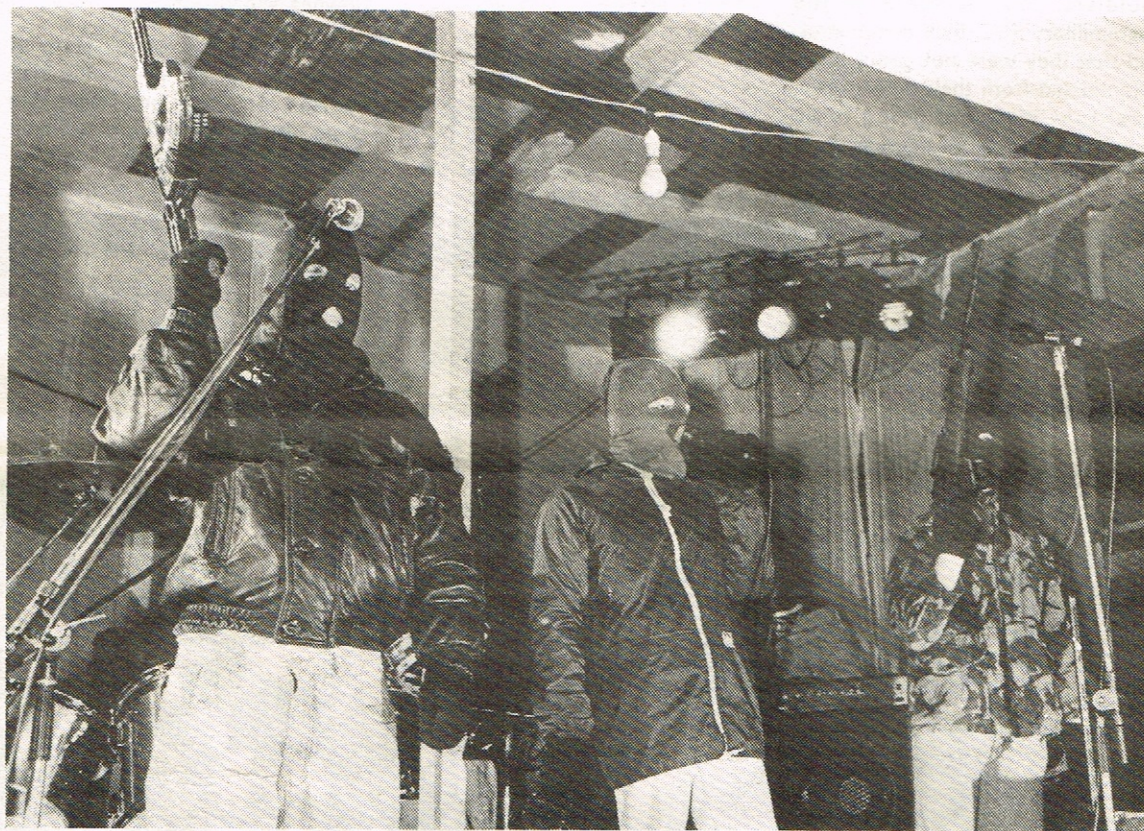
tack a patrol which was covering the area adjacent to Townhall Street. However, as they prepared to open fire, a fire engine emerged from the Townhall Street station and so the Volunteers decided to hold off until it had cleared the area.

"Only after the permanent barriers had been re-closed by British soldiers did our Volunteers resume firing positions to await a suitable target. This target presented itself when a joint RUC/British army patrol resumed patrolling inside the

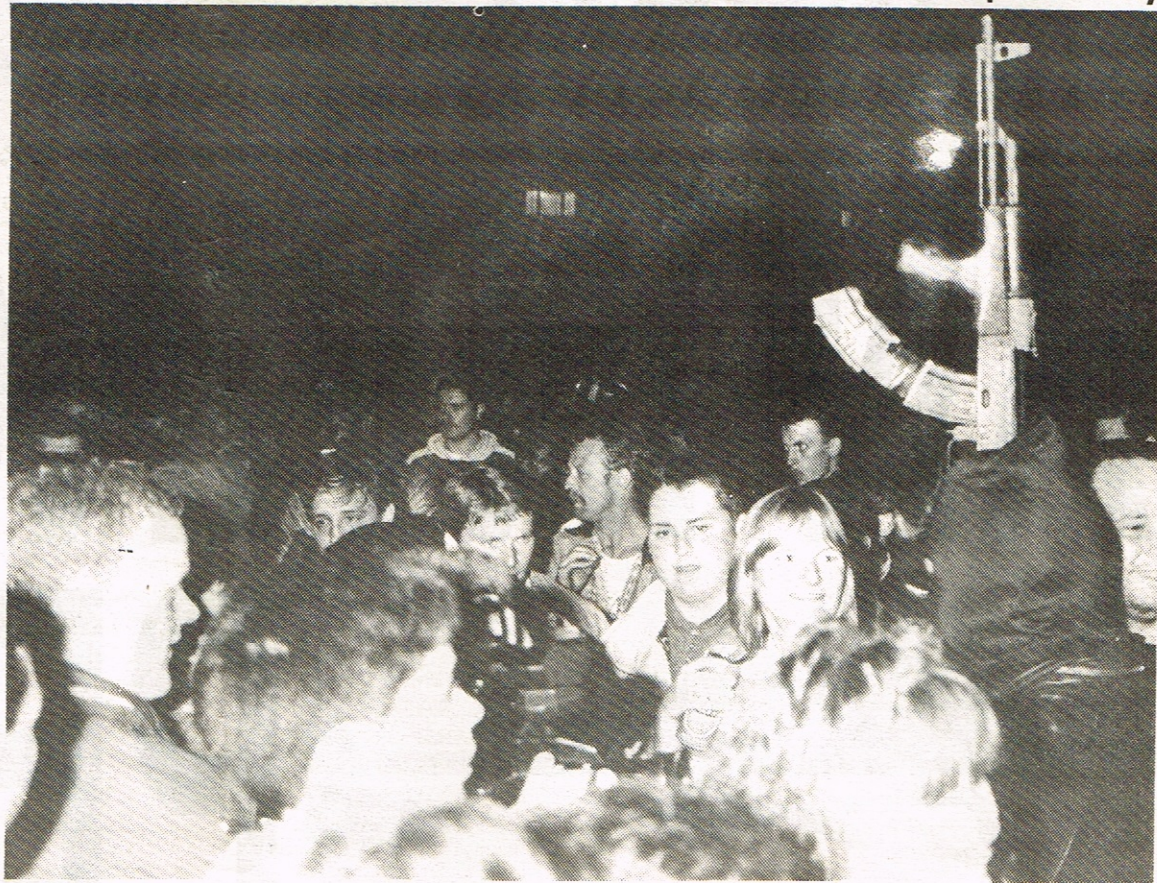
exclusion zone. A total of 18 shots were fired at this patrol before our Volunteers withdrew from the area. There were no reports of any injuries."

#### UNDER PRESSURE

The pressure under which the British military finds itself as the current IRA campaign in Britain continues was shown again during the week at an army and navy recruiting office in Chatham, Kent. On Monday, August 13th, roads were sealed off and two controlled explosions were carried out by a bomb disposal team on a car parked outside the recruiting office, but no device was found.



● The open presence of Volunteers of Oglagh na hEireann in West Belfast last week demonstrated that the IRA is still the People's Army





# Locked out workers dumped by bosses

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

IN A SHAMEFUL but predictable move, the management of the Gateaux bakery in Dublin decided last Tuesday night to put its workforce of over 500 out of their jobs in the eleventh week of the strike which turned into a lock-out by the bosses of the Finglas factory.

The company stated that it had advised its parent company, Lyons Irish Holdings, itself a subsidiary of the British company, Allied Lyons, that there were no economic grounds to reverse its closure decision of July 25th. This was how 240 permanent staff and up to 300 temporary staff heard that they had lost their livelihoods. The redundancy notices which were then issued will now take effect from September 18th with management refusing to pay anything over statutory redundancy.

The closure decision is seen by the workforce as a mercenary move, the lure of increased profits due to lower production costs in Britain leading to the decision to scrap the Finglas operation.

The eleven-week strike was originally called by the workers, all members of the Bakery and Food Workers' Amalgamated Union, when five bakery workers were arbitrarily sacked. At the end of last month, the company's managing director, Gerry Owens, announced the intention to close the factory.

On August 9th last, faced with this crisis situation, the workers voted to accept a settlement which had been worked out between a Labour Court conciliation officer, union officials and Gateaux shop stewards.

This conciliatory move received a predictably cynical response from management, which, it appears, having made the decision to close, was unwilling to make efforts to save its workers' jobs. The strikers,



● (Above and below) Gardai move in on workers at the Inchicore plant

who had voted to concede a great deal in order to save their livelihoods and return to work, now found themselves faced with a lock-out situation.

A decision was taken by the strike committee to place a secondary picket on Gateaux's Irish sister company, J Lyons and Company (Ireland) Ltd, the Inchicore-based wholesale tea merchants.

## PICKETS ASSAULTED

Up to 30 strikers who picketed the Inchicore plant in an attempt to force the Lyons group to hear their case, were assaulted and restrained from blocking deliveries to and from the plant by a force of uniformed gardai, led by Inspector Michael Coleman.

These scenes occurred outside the Inchicore plant on Friday, August 10th and again on the following Monday.

It was understood that 40 strikers will be kept on at the Finglas factory to operate a distribution company. All Gateaux cakes will now be manufactured in England, however. There will be no jobs for the rest of the workforce, including the skilled

bakery workers and up to 300 temporary staff.

In spite of the bleak news this week the Gateaux strikers expressed their continuing determination to fight for their right to work. Strike Committee spokesperson Fran Rigney said that they would not take the redundancies lying down nor conversion of the plant into a shipping depot for imported products. He urged the public to boycott Allied Lyons goods and said that the workers would continue their protest action.

This disastrous decision by the multinational owners of Gateaux is yet another body blow to the people of the Finglas area, already living in an unemployment blackspot. The decision, which Gateaux looks like being the latest example, combined with the rise in official unemployment figures, makes a nonsense of the Dublin government's 'economic recovery' claims.



## ARMAGH HOUSES RAIDED UNDER NEW LEGISLATION

EIGHT NATIONALIST HOMES in the Armagh area were raided in the early hours of Monday, August 13th, under the new 'Police and Criminal Evidence Act' (PACE), which came into force earlier this year. This is the first time that houses belonging to nationalists or republicans, normally raided under the standard emergency legislation, have been raided for political reasons using PACE.

Among the homes raided were those of the Culwell and Carroll families. When the RUC arrived at Culwell's in Legerhill Park they failed to produce a search warrant when requested to do so. Similar raids occurred in Legerhill Park less than two weeks ago and on that occasion the RUC, when refusing to display warrants, simply said they were obliged only to say they were in possession of a warrant.

During Monday's raids a number of homes sustained damage. A new washing machine in the Culwell home was destroyed. On leaving

the Culwell home the RUC refused to complete the normal 'damage sheet' saying simply "contact your civil representative".

When the Culwells contacted the civil representative to seek compensation in the normal fashion and to have damage at their home assessed independently, they were informed that since the raids had not been carried out under emergency law, there was no jurisdiction for the civil representative and any claim for damages would have to be made through the RUC Police Authority.

The new PACE legislation is not legally defined as emergency legislation and is not designed to replace existing emergency legislation but rather to augment it. Under Article 10 of the new act, justices of the peace will be able to issue warrants for searches of occupied or unoccupied premises to look for "relevant evidence concerning an arrestable offence".

## WARRANT

When the RUC apply for such a warrant they should, under PACE guidelines, specify the premises they wish to search and, as far as is practicable, the articles or persons



they wish to search for. The act however, is so wide, and governed by such loosely worded guidelines that the RUC can interpret it to suit their own purposes, while remaining within the spirit of the act. Provision is also made under PACE for the seizure of personal documentation including legal, medical, and health papers.

Sinn Féin's spokesperson on legal affairs, Paddy McManus, speaking after the Armagh raids said:

"I would like to take this opportunity to advise people to insist on crown forces showing a warrant when raiding under this legislation. These families were refused

that right and the raids were therefore illegal and unlawful entries.

"The use of this new act also means that claims for damage will have to be pursued through the RUC Police Authority. This will have serious implications as there will no longer be the limited safeguard of having an independent assessor to establish what damage the RUC caused. Furthermore the waiting period for claims from the RUC Police Authority currently stands at around one year which will create even more hardship for families forced to pay the damage right out of their own pockets while they await settlement of claims."



# WOMEN ENDURE WORSENING REGIME IN MOUNTJOY

BY  
ART  
Mac EOIN

THE VICTORIAN conditions of Dublin's Mountjoy Prison women's section, which were the subject of a recent Leinster House report, have taken another nose-dive in recent months. Petty harassment, including the use of the odious practice of strip-searching, is being used against the women prisoners.

Republican POW, Pamela Kane, who was jailed in Mountjoy last month, has been singled out for particular attention. She has been denied access to writing and painting materials sent into the prison by relatives and has been subjected to strip-searching on a number of occasions. When she complained about this she was told that she "wasn't being strip-searched enough".

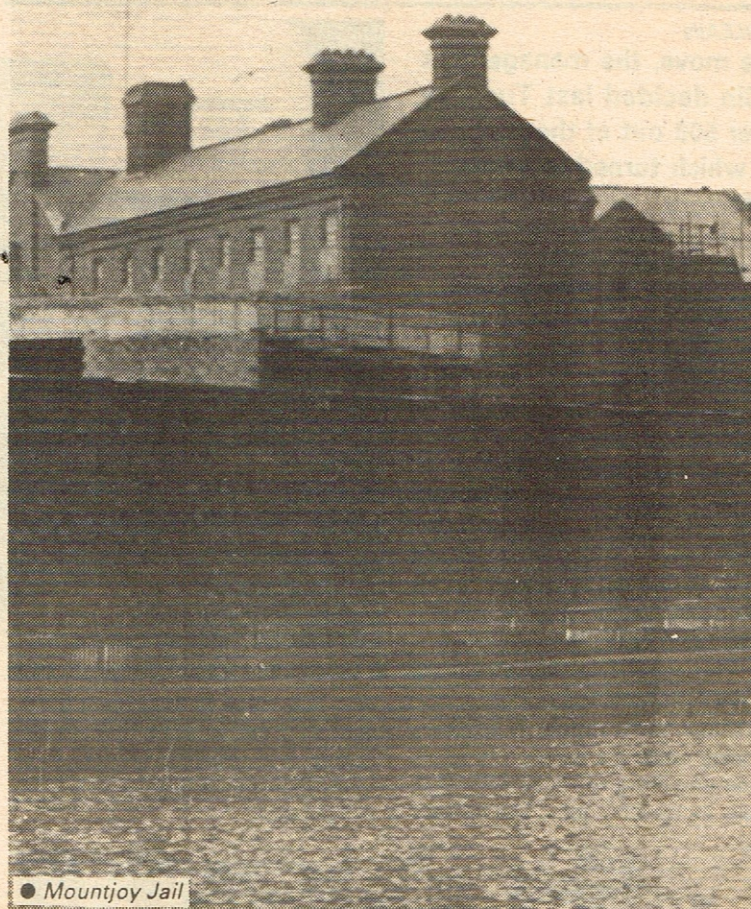
The women's section of the prison is virtually devoid of recreational or educational facilities, causing intense boredom among the inmates which has led to a situation of high tension. The prisoners

are forced to spend 17 hours a day in their cells. There are three toilets and no showers on the main landing for over 20 women.

## RELATIVE'S ACCOUNT

Speaking to AP/RN Aida Baker, who visits her sister-in-law in Mountjoy, spoke of the increasing incidents of harassment endured by prisoners and their visiting relatives alike.

"I was told that my sister-in-law, Jean, was getting a lot of hassle in the prison but didn't realise how bad it was until I saw it for myself. At the end of a recent visit, Jean was taken out of the visiting room.



● Mountjoy Jail

Usually when the visit is ended they give you a docket and give you time to finish the conversation.

"This time a prison officer just walked over and took Jean out and told me to stay where I was. When they went out the prison officer locked me in the room. I could hear Jean shouting on the other side to see if I was alright. She shouted that they were strip-searching her.

"An officer came to bring me across the yard. I asked this officer

could I see somebody about the incident. He told me that I couldn't but gave me no reason for this.

## LEFT IN ROOM

"When I got outside the prison I saw another male prison officer and explained to him what had happened. He told me that I should not have left the prison without demanding to see the governor. This officer agreed that the incident should not have happened. He said

that I should not have been left in the room and that the other officer should have brought me to the governor to let me explain what happened.

"Over the past few months the prisoners are being strip-searched an awful lot. It happens before and after visits. Sometimes they bring them in from the yard and strip-search them.

"But it's not only the strip-searching. The prisoners just can't speak their mind without being locked up for a few nights. My sister-in-law told one of the officers that she didn't think it was right that she was being strip-searched all the time, that if the officers watched the visits there would be no need for strip-searches. For saying this she got three weeks' lock-up. She was told that she had to be in her cell every afternoon at four o'clock until the next morning."

## MALE STAFF

Ten per cent of the staff in the women's section are male and women have alleged that they have been strip-searched by male officers. The use of the lock-up as a punishment is preventing any co-ordinated response by the prisoners to the worsening situation.

Most of the prisoners in Mountjoy's women's section are there for drug-related offences but there are no facilities such as a detoxification unit to deal with their very specific problems.

In the male section of Mountjoy Jail an appalling situation has now arisen where young teenagers are being imprisoned in the main institution in the 26 Counties for adult offenders, including many with drug-related problems. This week the second 15-year-old boy in the past two months was sent to Mountjoy Jail.

# DERRY MAN TORTURED IN CASTLEREAGH

IN AN INCIDENT with chilling similarities to the RUC murder of Belfastman Brian Maguire in Castlereagh Interrogation Centre 12 years ago, the RUC at Castlereagh threatened the life of a 20-year-old Derry man, Patrick McDaid, tightening a tie around his neck and attempting to strangle him.

In 1978 Brian Maguire was found hanged in his cell in Castlereagh, despite the fact that it was then RUC policy to remove ties, belts, and shoelaces from prisoners; the RUC claimed that he had committed suicide.

In this recent incident, over a period of two days, the Derryman was subjected to a series of vicious assaults, sustaining injuries which included bruising to both his arms and legs, cuts and abrasions to his head, severe neck pains, and a perforated eardrum. McDaid is still undergoing treatment for these injuries.

## SAVAGELY ASSAULTED

Describing his torture McDaid said he was repeatedly and savagely assaulted by four detectives, working in two-person shifts, during three four-hour-long interrogation sessions:

"During the first session I was slapped about the head, punched in the privates and had my arms twisted up my back. The two detectives kept up a stream of abuse and filth, calling me names and

threatening me.

"One detective grabbed me by the hair and banged my head off the wall. Later on another took a tie and placed it around my neck. He tightened it saying 'We'll see how long you stick this for'.

"This treatment lasted the whole day with the detectives regularly changing shifts. When I asked for a doctor I was told there was no point in making complaints as they wouldn't be listened to. One of them said 'If you really want to complain then we'll give you something to complain about'.

"They thought I had an ulcer and one of them kept punching me in the chest and stomach in an attempt to 'make your ulcer worse'.

"During the final interrogation session they made a number of very specific threats, telling me I'd be 'nuttled' or set up."

## MORE DEATH THREATS

These death threats echo threats made to McDaid in June last year when he was being held for a four-day period in Strand Road Barracks in Derry. On that oc-



● Castlereagh interrogation centre

casion, when he was also severely beaten, McDaid was told that he would be 'taken out' by the SAS.

Shantallow Sinn Féin Councillor

Gearóid O hEara said that in spite of the fact that the RUC has been condemned on numerous occasions for torture in their interroga-

tion centres, as the 1990s began, the story was still the same:

"They can torture with impunity."



# Swedish MPs back Irish unity

## Delegation visits border roads

**TWO SWEDISH MPs who were in the Six Counties along with six members of the Irish solidarity group *Irland Solidaritet* have, in an interview with *AP/RN*, said that they view the reunification of Ireland as the only long-term solution to the problems here.**

The MPs, Ingela Mårtensson and Viola Claeson, had accepted an invitation to travel to Ireland to attend the international conference 'Ireland: The way forward'.

The invitation was extended by Maria Wallius of *Irland Solidaritet* who took the initiative following a highly successful visit to Sweden last year by civil rights campaigner, Bernadette McAliskey.

The Swedish group, following their attendance at the three-day conference, undertook an extensive tour of Belfast and Tyrone along with a series of meetings with civil rights activists Joe McVeigh and Des Wilson, Oliver Kearney of the Fair Employment Trust (initiators of the MacBride Principles) and MP for West Belfast, Gerry Adams.

### BORDER TOUR

On Sunday, August 12th, the all-party delegation of Swedish politicians, including the two parliamentarians, undertook a tour of the Tyrone/Monaghan border area to view conditions imposed on the community by the British presence

in the area. Accompanied by Bernadette McAliskey and Sinn Féin Councillor Raymond McMahon, they were brought to various border crossings closed by the British. The Swedish delegation was appalled at this denial of freedom of movement and contrasted it with the re-

cent removal of the Berlin Wall.

Meanwhile, at one crossing recently closed by the British at Peadar Francis' near Carrickroe on the Monaghan side of the border, a group of about 20 people successfully re-opened the road. Using tractors and heavy equipment as well as shovels and picks, the road was shortly back in use by locals. This re-opened site was later inspected by the Swedish group but on the following Tuesday it was destroyed again by the British — for the sixth successive time.

The Swedish group visited the Aidan McAnespie memorial close to the notorious Aughnacloy checkpoint where the young man was murdered by a British soldier. Having been forewarned of the presence of the delegation, crown forces went out of their way to create a false impression of goodwill and humour. But when later travelling to Dungannon, having left some of the party to homes where they were staying, the bus was stopped by the RUC in the mistaken belief that all the tour party had

disembarked. The two Swedish MPs along with Bernadette McAliskey were still on board. After a hurried radio message the RUC members were instructed to allow the bus to continue undisturbed.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

Speaking to *AP/RN* on Tuesday, August 14th, both MPs said they were alarmed at the social and economic problems in the Six Counties, particularly against the background of a Swedish unemployment rate of 1.2% compared to the Six-County average of 14.2% which rises in many nationalist areas to over 70%. Both also said that having seen at first hand the reality of the situation in the Six Counties they would be immediately raising the issue with the Swedish Helsinki Human Rights Committee.

Viola Claeson, saying that there was an immediate need to place international pressure on the British to commence meaningful negotiations to find a settlement, commented: "The British government is responsible for the daily violence which is occurring here in the North."

The delegation brought the interview to a close saying that they all supported the concept of a united Ireland.



● The Swedish delegation, including MPs Ingela Mårtensson and Viola Claeson, who visited the Six Counties last week

# German trial of two Irishmen starts

**THE TRIAL of Irishmen, Gerry Hanratty and Terence (Gerry) McGeough, gets under way in a Düsseldorf court in West Germany today, Thursday, August, 16th.**

The trial is expected to last from ten months to a year with the two men facing charges of causing an explosion at Duisberg, attempted murder at Duisberg and possession of 'war weapons'. In addition, Gerry McGeough faces further charges of causing an explosion at Rheindahlen, attempted murder at Rheindahlen and possession of illegal documents. This is the highest court dealing with criminal law in Germany. There can be no appeal except on a point of constitutional law.

### SOLITARY CONFINEMENT

The two men were arrested on the German/Dutch border on August 30th, 1988 and have been held on remand ever since. Gerry McGeough has written, while he was being held in Frankenthal Prison, of how he was held in solitary confinement for the first five months of his time on remand, his hands being handcuffed behind his back for 116 consecutive days dur-

ing his recreation period, despite the heavily-armed security presence. He was refused permission to participate in sports, to attend religious services as well as all access to educational facilities.

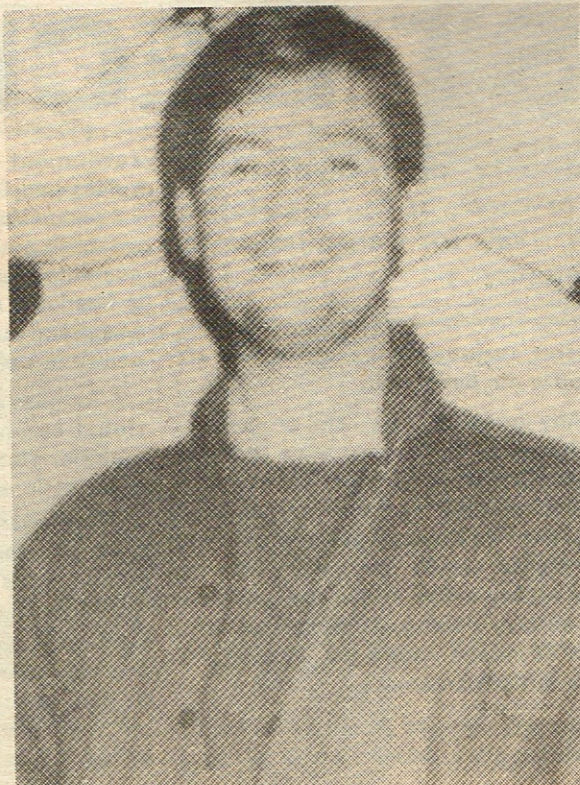
Although his situation later improved slightly he was still held in deplorable conditions in a small maximum security cell in the prison punishment block for 23 hours a day, being allowed only an hour's recreation early in the morning.

He has since been moved to Wuppertal Prison, 17 miles west of Düsseldorf. Gerry Hanratty is being held in Düsseldorf Prison.

Further proceedings before a provincial court in Munich on a British extradition request against Gerry Hanratty look likely to be deferred at least until the end of the current legal proceedings. If the court concludes that he is extraditable, then the decision whether or not to do so is ultimately a political one. As he had no documentation on him when arrested, he applied to the

Irish Embassy in Bonn over a year ago as a citizen of the 26 Counties for an Irish passport. Despite the fact that this is his constitutional right,

the embassy has procrastinated and generally been as obstructive as possible. To date, Hanratty has still not received his passport.



● GERRY McGEOUGH



● GERRY HANRATTY

The length of the trial will lead to great expense, both in terms of legal costs and travel costs for relatives of the two men.

The bank in West Germany to which donations for Hanratty and McGeough's defence fund should be sent to is Volksbank Rodermark, 6074 Rodermark; Konto NR. (Account number): 165 190 BLZ 508 644 21.



# Pointing the way forward

FEW HONEST OBSERVERS of the Irish political scene could fail to have been impressed by the huge and unqualified success of the international conference entitled 'Ireland: The Way Forward' held in the Europa Hotel, Belfast, from August 9th to 11th.

'Knowing about it and being impressed by the quality of presentations is one thing; but ignoring and marginalising what was undoubtedly an historic event in the very centre of a war torn city is another.

That is what happened in all the 'main-stream' media — almost no coverage of the three-day event that brought together over 400 delegates and observers from 14 countries and 100 organisations, as well as renowned politicians, civil libertarians and the real 'experts' on the subject of the way forward for Ireland: the people of the Six Counties and in particular the workers in Springhill Community House who have been at the forefront of community politics and activism for over two decades.

## THREATENED

Perhaps, as one delegate suggested, the fact that the conference was

largely ignored shows how threatened those maintaining the status quo feel, as the local community shows its considerable political and organisational abilities to attract such a wealth of international participation.

From well before the opening session on Thursday, August 9th, it was clear that in numerical terms alone the conference was going to be a success and by the close on Saturday afternoon those who were exhausted after staging such a prestigious conference in a city centre venue were totally convinced of its merit.

Conference chairperson was Oliver Kearney of the Fair Employment Trust who introduced and acknowledged the numerous international delegates and their organisations.

He then introduced Naomi Wayne, co author with Bob Rawthorn of the book *The Political Economy of Conflict*,



who delivered an address entitled 'Britain Can Withdraw Peacefully'. In a cogent argument drawing heavily from her book, Wayne argued for withdrawal in the lifetime of one parliament. She examined the many arguments often quoted against such a withdrawal, primarily the economic consequences, and the so-called "bloodbath scenario", and dispelled them with precisely researched and compelling arguments on Britain's economic responsibilities after withdrawal and who precisely would be the combatants in the "bloodbath scenario".

## BRITISH FATALISM

She said that in recent years a kind of "fatalism had overtaken what is popularly called the Irish question" and that the British government "aspires to no lasting solution, its horizons are limited firmly to military containment, it does not envisage a military victory". She totally rejected such pessimistic approaches and said that peace can be brought to the North of Ireland quickly and mostly peacefully, "a quality of peace that would be worth having".

After each speaker there was a Delegate Forum during which many speakers from a large cross-section of the participants made incisive comments on the contributions and suggestions as to how they saw the way forward.

Richard Harvey, a New York lawyer, used the first such forum to

He suggested that conference organisers send a letter to the UN secretary general "requesting that they convene an international conference consisting of the affected powers because only they have the economic might to assist in a resolution of the situation".

Mike Rice, a long time trade union activist and Birmingham Labour councillor, then spoke in place of Liz Curtis who withdrew as a result of illness. He spoke on the theme of 'It is Time to Go', and after putting his position as a labour activist in context said:

"The demand for troops out contains a logical corollary which is the abolition of the Northern Irish state and an end to the Protestant ascendancy. You can't get rid of the troops and maintain discrimination against Catholics in the Six Counties." One of the mechanisms used to marginalise the Irish question was the Labour Party leadership's "bi-partisan approach to Northern Ireland", he said. But he drew a clear distinction between it and the Labour Party rank-and-file, many of whom have Irish roots.

Another mechanism to keep the Irish question off the agenda which he slammed was the claim by labour leaders that these are matters best left to the Northern Ireland Congress Of Trade Unions. But he warned that they can't keep saying that because it "no longer washes" and it is time to discuss the way forward within the labour movement.

## POST-COLONIAL STATE

Ira Glaser, the Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), was the first speaker on Friday with an address on 'Independence and Constitutional Government for the Post-Colonial State' — "a situation you wish you were in!" he added wryly. He gave an illuminating historical summary of the US experience in democracy, liberty and constitutionality.

Economist Raymond Crotty gave an enlightening address on the economic restructuring of post-colonial Ireland saying it was "unrealistic to believe that Protestants will surrender their modicum of privilege and

equally unrealistic to expect that the indigenous Catholic population of the North will accept the disabilities that are the corollary of Protestant privilege". The solution, he argued, was real economic restructuring that makes such privileges and disabilities irrelevant, that would entail the ending of mass unemployment, mass poverty and mass emigration.

## LAID BLAME

He laid blame at the door of the Dublin government for the present impasse saying that if they had exercised sovereignty properly, such ills would have been removed in the 1920s.

In a typically humorous yet incisive address, Bernadette McAliskey questioned whether Britain could guarantee anything and as for the question often posed "Is it worth it?" she said she couldn't relate to the question because she was "obsessed with liberty and the notion of freedom!"

"I intend to have it and that takes the romantic edge off it. I can't live without it and at this stage my right to liberty supercedes my right to life, I don't know what else to do."

## EGALITARIAN SOCIETY

Professor William Lafferty of Oslo University, Norway, gave a detailed analysis of how Norway constructed an egalitarian society with economic, social and political structures which married capital with the needs of the population and suggested it as a possible model for Ireland.

Des Wilson, in the concluding address, provided a vision of a secular Ireland in which all minorities regardless of affiliation would be guaranteed respect, justice and a full role in society.

Chairperson Oliver Kearney, commenting on the success of the conference, said:

"The same people who ignored the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement in the late 1960s ignored this conference and with the same predictable consequences."



● Paul Hill, Oliver Kearney and Gerry Adams at the conference in the Europa Hotel

# BELFAST DECLARATION

**RESOLUTION** passed unanimously at International Conference, 'Ireland: the War Forward', at Europa Hotel, Belfast, on Saturday, August 11th, 1990, for transmission to members of the international community.

As more than 400 representatives of some 100 organisations from all parts of Ireland and from England, Scotland, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, the United States, Switzerland, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, Australia, New Zealand, Germany, having been called together by the Springhill Community House to attend an international conference at the Europa Hotel, Belfast, between August 9th and August 11th, 1990 to discuss the theme: 'Ireland — The Way Forward', we are deeply mindful of the complexity of the problems confronting the people of the whole island of Ireland.

After serious deliberation, we are united in our belief that:

1. Any prospect of peaceful progress to a solution of these problems requires that the British government act to implement its binding legal and international obligations to observe and promote human rights, which must inevitably include setting a firm and irreversible date for military disengagement from the North of Ireland within the lifetime of a single British parliament;

2. The way forward must be decided by all the people of Ireland and a political

settlement must be reached that involves people of all religious and political persuasions through a convention to establish a new constitution which shall guarantee human dignity and democratic freedoms and promote the economic, social and cultural rights of all the Irish people in a pluralistic state;

3. To these ends, we call on the international community of United Nations member-states and non-governmental organisations to:

a. Demand that the British government cease and desist from its violation of the human rights of Irish people;

b. Act to ensure that economic and political support does not go to maintaining the presently unacceptable status quo of a partitioned Ireland but rather to ensure maximum economic and political aid to a united democratic Ireland;

c. Use all appropriate international fora, including the United Nations and its agencies and the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe, to promote Ireland's human rights agenda and organise international debates, seminars and conferences towards that end.

In conclusion, we are convinced that the enormous success of this Belfast conference, taking place as it does in the year of the release of Nelson Mandela and other dramatic human rights advances in other parts of the world, reflects a growing international recognition that the people of Ireland have the right to peace and justice and we urge that the way forward be pursued by all people of good will in their local communities and in national and international gatherings until Ireland is truly united, democratic and free.



## THE RIGHT TO COMMUNICATE

## Broadcasters reject bans

BY TOM O'DWYER

AMARC, the world-wide organisation of community radio broadcasters, began its 1990 conference in Dublin on Monday with a determined call on the British and the 26-County government to drop censorship. Under the slogan "The right to communicate", the conference brought together radio workers from places as far apart as Argentina and Bhutan (in the Himalayas), Norway and Vietnam.

The term 'community radio' refers to stations which try to involve local people in their broadcasts and which centre their activities on the needs of such communities, unlike commercial stations based on the profit motive or state broadcasting organisations which tend to reflect only the government view. Community stations are there to give ordinary people a

voice.

Derry's Eamonn McCann, one of the keynote speakers, was highly critical of the Dublin government attempts to silence republicans and the failure of many journalists to stand up against Section 31:

"I would like to have to tell you that broadcast journalists in this country have fought vigorously against this censorship. But I can't

tell you that. They have not fought vigorously against it."

He did grant that some had, and paid tribute to Jenny McGeever, the RTE journalist who lost her job after broadcasting a few words from Martin McGuinness:

"I think all journalists in Ireland, and particularly those in the broadcasting sector, are in Jenny McGeever's debt, including those who looked the other way when she was suffering for standing firm on her principles."

## DAMAGE GOES DEEP

He noted that, while Sinn Féin suffered from the Dublin and British governments' broadcasting bans, the damage went far deeper as well:

"It seems to me that the failure

of journalists to offer serious resistance to political censorship here has had a debilitating effect on broadcast journalism generally and has compromised the whole notion of journalistic independence.

"To the extent that journalists anywhere concede the right of government to dictate who can and who cannot be included in a broadcast, then, to that extent they have given up the right to make their own journalistic judgements. They have given up their political independence," McCann points out that this makes them, in effect, "agents of government policy".

During the recent conflict between RTE workers and the government over Ray Burke's new Broadcasting Act, this cowardice isolated journalists who wanted to defend their own jobs:

"Long years of accepting government dictat as to who could or could not be presented on RTE radio weakened RTE journalists significantly when it came to protesting about what was being done to their state sector radio in the interests of the private sector."

It is a "precious principle" that broadcasters should resist government efforts to tell them what they can and what they cannot broadcast. He argued that journalists should see it as such, "if further damage is not to be done to the integrity of broadcasting journalism in this state".

## SILENCE

The Derry journalist reminded his audience that, when the British government introduced its own

broadcasting ban on Sinn Féin in 1988, silence over Section 31 made it difficult to organise opposition to the new censorship measures: "The argument was 'after all the Irish have accepted this for the last 20 years, why should we take up the cudgels?'"

"The effect of these things spreads beyond national boundaries and even to the continent of Europe," he warned. "The failure to fight censorship here has had a far more wide-ranging effect than occurs to some of our more parochial minds in Ireland."

In his native Derry, McCann noted that political censorship is heavily bound up with the issue of community access to radio. BBC's community station *Radio Foyle* was originally founded on the principle of full access of all local people to the airwaves, irrespective of their political views. But since the British government's broadcasting ban on Sinn Féin, "it's simply impossible for *Radio Foyle* to cover the ordinary day-to-day activities" of communities because community leaders who happen to be Sinn Féin members are excluded.

The Dublin AMARC conference is the fourth in the organisation's history and the last one in 1988 was held in the Nicaraguan capital Managua. Among the many delegates from Latin America were representatives of *Radio Farabundo Martí*, the revolutionary voice of the Salvadorean liberation force, the FMLN. The African delegates included *Radio Freedom*, the ANC station. Representatives of these two stations will be interviewed in next week's *AP/RN*.



Some of the contributors at the AMARC 4 conference in Dublin this week

## Censorship worldwide

SPEAKERS from Ireland, El Salvador, South Africa and the Philippines gave evidence of political censorship at a meeting in Dublin's Liberty Hall this week. The meeting was held as part of the AMARC 4 conference and attracted over 200 people. It was chaired by RTE broadcaster Róisín Boyd.

Don Ngubeni of the ANC's *Radio Freedom* explained that the apartheid government still relies on a repressive system of censorship laws:

"The Internal Security Act, even now, gives them the power to close newspapers, bans us from quoting certain people. There are the Prisons Act, the Police Act and the Defence Act. Some of these laws

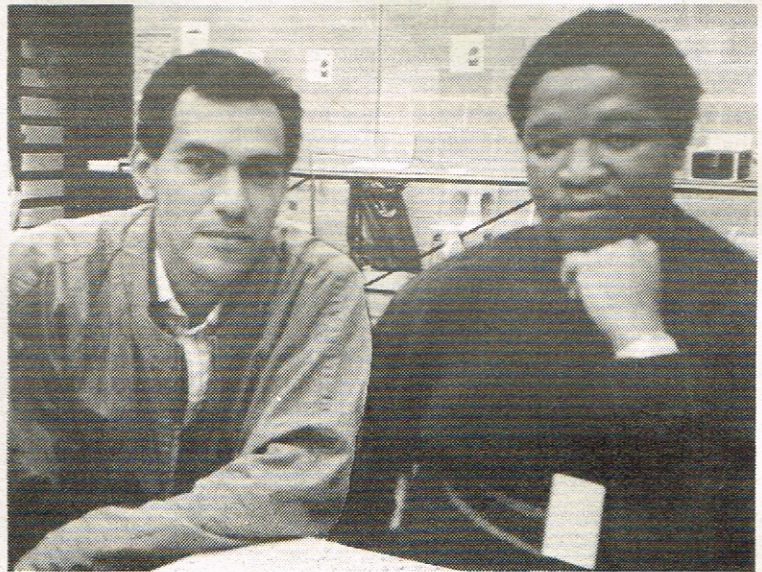
have been couched in very vague terms so that you just do not know at what point you are transgressing them. For example there is what is called the Strategic Installations Act. Strategic installations are not defined. It simply depends on the will of a policeman or a minister." Under the Affected Areas Act journalists are forbidden to travel to certain townships and have to de-

pend on police reports of what happens there.

## SHEER POVERTY

August Morales of the Salvadorean liberation movement's radio system, pointed out the sheer poverty of his country which is dominated by the military and the US: "In spite of the last ten years of war in which there have been over 70,000 people killed, we're still finding that more children are killed by hunger than by war."

In the ten years since the military's death squads started operating, two members of Morales' small staff have been killed. They broad-



Augusto Morales of FMLN Radio, and Don Ngubeni of the ANC's Radio Freedom, at the censorship meeting in Liberty Hall

cast from the mountain areas liberated by the rebels:

"Since the formation of our radio stations the military have considered us as military objectives."

Anna Leah De Leon of Manila spoke of her experience as a feminist broadcaster in the Philippines where many of the hopes which rose with the downfall of the Marcos dictatorship and the election of Cory Aquino as president have been dashed.

"In the first year of her presidency, there was direct access to radio programmes", but then progressive station managers were kicked out. "What started out as 'people power' became what our president called 'reconciliation' between the people

and the military which was responsible for repressing the people."

RTE broadcaster Betty Purcell recognised the differences between the experiences of the other speakers and that of those fighting Section 31. But she pointed out that there also were similarities.

Section 31 was "a restrictive and explicit form of broadcasting censorship". She argued that RTE has been forced to give "a very distorted picture" of events in the Six Counties and that this has also distorted "the whole centre of what is Irish political thinking on Northern Ireland". About 100,000 people in the Six Counties "have been deprived of the right to have their voice heard".



Eamonn McCann addresses the conference





● "What a week!"

## The week that never was

**THE USUAL MEDIA circus which accompanies internment week in West Belfast failed to materialise this year and for those who had neither the time nor the opportunity to come along and participate in the West Belfast festival or the annual march to commemorate the introduction of internment without trial, it would be easy enough to conclude that it was the week that never was.**

For those who did come, for all the right reasons of course, it was a memorable week and a week which bore ample testimony to the talent, humanity, resilience and determination of a community, which in spite of massive militarisation, intimidation and unprecedented slander, simply refuses to lie down.

It was first and foremost a week of freedom, not that the massive force of British army and RUC personnel who swamped the area solidly for the entire time would have given anyone the notion of freedom. But it was a foretaste of the explosion of joy and celebration and the unleashing of the vast amount of talent which resides in the nationalist community and which would be given free rein on the attainment of full national freedom.

### RUBBING SHOULDERS

Whether at rock concerts, debates, literary evenings, *This is Your Life* evenings (Would the real Tish Holland now stand up?), or the many fun days for the young and not so young, Basques, Bretons, Corsicans, English, Americans, Canadians, Germans, French, Australians, Norwegians, Swedes and Irish people, rubbed shoulders in joy and common celebration, and the one theme above all others which ran through the week was "we're having a great time and think of how much better it would be if the only guests in Ireland were the ones we've invited".

There was of course a more serious side to the week. Slotted in alongside the 500 events of the West Belfast festival were political workshops for the visiting delegations from the Troops Out Movement, Noraid and the many international solidarity groups, several main conferences, prison-

ers' days and finally the main political event of the week, the people's March for Freedom.

So where were the ranks of the media, during all of this? They were of course here, but along with their cameras, tapes and sound crews most of them brought their preconceived notions of savagery and lawlessness — and when the massive annual siege of West Belfast by the crown forces failed to draw anything other than indifference from people determined not to be provoked, it was the media and the British forces who for once were the only disappointed people around. None of the positive imagery could be passed by the censors so the 'Week' had, at least in media circles, to become the week that never was.

### PROUD TO BELONG

Speaking at the end of the festival, MP for the area and President of Sinn Féin, Gerry Adams said that he was "proud to belong to the community which internment was meant to have defeated 19 years ago". He continued:

"It is a measure of the resilience, determination and courage of this community in the face of unprecedented military occupation and massive social and economic deprivation, that such a festival can even get off the ground never mind turn into such a success."

Adams concluded:

"It is a measure of the spirit of our people that, 19 years after internment was reintroduced, and despite everything that has been thrown at us since, we remain undefeated and able to celebrate in such a positive and energetic fashion, the strength of our community and our determination not to be crushed, silenced or misrepresented."

# A VISION OF FREEDOM

**A SPIRIT OF RENEWAL**, a vision of hope and a message of defiance were the key-notes of the huge demonstration in Belfast last Sunday when the many thousands who represented what was described as a "great army of dissent" of Irish people marched in solidarity and remembrance of the imposition of internment without trial in the occupied North nineteen years ago.

With bright sunshine, high humidity and only a hint of the possibility of rain, thousands of people had gathered at Dunville Park in West Belfast on Sunday, August 12th to take part in the annual march to mark the internment anniversary. From early morning, the crown forces moved into position in huge numbers establishing road-blocks on side-roads the length of the Falls, and placing a cordon around the march's destination at Connolly House in Andersonstown.

By 2pm, almost an hour before the march set off, the Springfield and Grosvenor Road junction at Dunville Park was a sea of colour and noise, as over a dozen bands warmed up and had their places allocated to them amid the waving of flags, banners and posters.

### RAPTUROUS WELCOME

As the march wound its way along, delegates from Herri Batasuna in the Basque country were warmly greeted as many of the hundreds lining the route recognised the green, white and red colours of the Basque national flag. The 55 representatives of Irish Northern Aid from North America and the 120-strong delegation from Troops Out received their now traditional rapturous reception as people lining the roadside warmly applauded the solidarity being shown with the struggle for freedom.

Making its way down Broadway

Hill, in the mid-Falls, the central section of the march was reminiscent of the funeral cortege of Volunteer Larry Marley with a solid wall of people filling the length and breadth of the road. Many at the march's head commented on more than one occasion: "It's some size, it's the best march for some time."

### WALL OF STEEL

On arrival at Connolly House in Andersonstown, the march was greeted by a wall of steel, with 50 armoured RUC jeeps forming an impassable cordon. Repeated calls from Sinn Féin's Alex Maskey, on the platform, for the obstruction to be removed, were ignored and so the platform refrain turned to one of 'keep pushing forward there are still more to come'.

The rally was chaired by Sinn Féin Councillor, Fra McCann, who opened by commending the marchers for making it a defiant and successful display of a people united and solid in their march to freedom. Patricia McCartney of the Sinn Féin POW Department read a prepared statement from the Republican Prisoners of War:

"Each and every one of us knows that a denial of freedom prevails in this country and that every man, woman and child is a victim of that denial. The prisons are full. In Crumlin Road Jail the administration forges ahead in its attempt to forcibly



● **Members of the British army** videotape integrate loyalists and republicans. Irish prisoners are held hostage in prisons in England, and in Europe and America the number of prisoners increases. Life prisoners are now, some of them, entering their 18th year in jail, without hope of release and in the women's prisons both here and elsewhere strip-searching continues. Topping all that the 26-County authorities seek to extradite Irish citizens into this system."

The next speaker to the platform was greeted with thunderous applause as Fra McCann introduced Biki Gorostiaga to address the rally on behalf of Herri Batasuna. Speaking in her native tongue and in English and adding solidarity greetings in Irish, Gorostiaga conveyed her pleasure at having the opportunity to be with the struggling people of Ireland and identified the common ground existing between the people of Euskadi and Ireland.

### RACIST REGIME

Janet Clarke of the Troops Out Movement then took the microphone both to express solidarity with the struggle for Irish self-determination



● A section of the huge crowd attending this year's annual internment march





Photape the crowd

s. and to draw parallels with the treatment meted out to Irish people and the Black community in England by the same right-wing and racist regime.

Before the day's two main speakers, Martin Galvin and Tom Hartley, were called on, McCann introduced Irene McDonnell who this year headed the annual Noraid fact-finding tour and delegation. McDonnell spoke of the harassment and constant surveillance inflicted on the Noraid tour group by the crown forces and assured the crowd that the message they would bring back to America was one of the importance of continuing and intensifying support for the Irish struggle in the face of naked British aggression and the barrage of misinformation funded by millions of British pounds in America and elsewhere.

Rapturous and defiant applause greeted the introduction of Martin Galvin, returning to a platform at Connolly House for the first time since the murderous RUC attack on the internment rally in 1984 which killed John Downes and injured scores of others.



● The march sets off down the Falls Road led by members of the 'security forces'

Referring to the British exclusion order from the Six Counties against him issued in 1984 Galvin said:

"It was supposed to be just another insignificant extension of a well-known British tactic of ignoring, censoring or excluding any view in opposition to British rule in Ireland. It was a tactic which uses censorship on the TV and radio, excludes Sinn Féin from peace talks and a tactic which was now supposed to apply to Americans who simply told the truth about what they'd seen about British rule in Ireland; and like all British tactics it was ultimately based on violence and terror.

"So when that ban was unsuccessful and when I simply came forward to add my voice to those which have already been raised in support of Irish freedom, the British used this as a pretext for a premeditated, vicious and totally cowardly attack against men, women and children. The British killed one man, John Downes under circumstances which you and I and any real court would describe as murder."

#### RIGHTS ASSERTED

Expressing sympathy with Brenda Downes, the Downes family and all those who were injured that day, Galvin continued:

"It is important to remember that Britain's use of violence and terror did not succeed, that you marched down that same route the next day, as you have marched today, to reassert your right to freedom. That resistance and political pressure from America has lifted that ban and so I can be here with you today."

Outlining the expansion of solidarity work in America, Galvin described the real reason for that support as "a tribute" to those resisting British oppression in the Six Counties.

Following sustained applause, Sinn Féin General-Secretary Tom Hartley delivered the final address of the day. Thanking Galvin and describing himself as the "calm following the storm" Hartley said that Sunday's march for freedom reflected the long

march of Irish people towards their ultimate destination, a free and independent Ireland. He continued:

"As we began the march at Dunville Park today, it reflected the power relationship that exists in the Six Counties. We, the People, marched on the road with our political banners and our political slogans which contain the demands of the nationalist people; alongside us in great numbers was the British army and RUC, with their armour, and their guns. Their armour and their guns are meant to intimidate us, to convince us that they are in charge but the opposite is true because all they demonstrate is that in the politics of the Six Counties there is no consensus and the only way they can manage political dissent and nationalist demands is by repression."

#### ARMY OF DISSENT

Identifying the broad cross-section of people attending the march, nationalists from all over the 32 Counties, families of the victims of the shoot-to-kill policy, families of the victims of plastic bullets, ex-prisoners, families, friends and comrades of the hunger-strikers, political and community groups, the unemployed, the homeless and those forced to emigrate in the past and the "first generation of native speakers raised in the naiscoileanna and bunscoileanna", Hartley said that the march showed all aspects of the struggle. He continued:

"All of you represent a great army of dissent. All of you represent a great army of rebellion and it's all held together by our vision of the Ireland we want, a peaceful, independent Irish democracy. The Ireland in our vision will have no need for coercive legislation, nor will it set out to exploit the suffering of vulnerable minorities. It will seek to protect them. In our vision it will have a culture which will reflect its diversities, in our vision Ireland will be a democracy, with a government accountable to its people. In this vision there will be an end to mass emigration, an end to unemployment and poverty. Our society will care for its aged, will support women in their de-

mand for equality. Our society will educate its youth and in our society Thatcherism will not be allowed to develop. This then, is our vision."

With his final words Hartley referred to the massed armour and

ranks of the RUC and British army hemming in the demonstration saying: "All the bigotry you see behind you, all those guns and all that repression will tumble in the face of that vision."



● (Above) Irene McDonnell of Noraid addresses the crowd at Sunday's annual internment march (middle) Basque representative Biki Gorostiaga addresses the crowd and (below) Special Branch member photographs the crowd







● Part of the 400-strong crowd who finally won their right to march along the Ormeau Road

## VICTORY ON ORMEAU ROAD

FOR THE FIRST TIME in living memory nationalists marched along the Ormeau Road in South Belfast on Wednesday evening, August 8th. This was a significant victory for the consistent campaigning by local Sinn Féin activists for the right to march through what is an overwhelmingly nationalist area.

In spite of the crown forces' attempts to intimidate people from attending the parade by deploying a massive force of RUC and UDR in the area, over 400 people formed up at River Terrace to march with four bands through the terraced streets of the Lower Ormeau and

Markets area. For years a similar force of RUC and UDR has been deployed to facilitate the triumphalist Loyalist parades that entail a virtual curfew of the district each time they parade.

March organisers were given less than 24 hours notice that they

were being permitted to march and it was a credit to their determination that they mobilised such a gathering in such short a time.

Dozens of the marchers carried placards demanding an end to forced integration of prisoners in the Crumlin Road jail and thousands of leaflets highlighting their plight were handed out to local residents who came out en masse to applaud the parade.

Each time the parade came out of the terrace streets onto the main road a phalanx of RUC men and

landrovers completely hemmed in the marchers while in the background hostile loyalists stood in front of more RUC Land-Rovers screaming sectarian abuse and waving flags.

### DEFIANCE

On the main Ormeau Road the parade was forced to march on the wrong side of the carriageway with heavily armed RUC men taking delight in manhandling young people whose feet strayed over the white

line.

In spite of heavy rain at the culmination of the parade marchers remained defiant and satisfied at the winning of their hard-won right to march.

Parade organisers warmly thanked those who had at such short notice taken to the streets and for their determination over the years to win the right to march in their own streets.

"It may be the first but it will definitely not be the last!" said one delighted resident.

## COOKSTOWN NATIONALISTS UNDER MARTIAL LAW



● DERMOT COYLE

NATIONALISTS in the Rathkeen and Greenvale estates in Cookstown, County Tyrone, were put under virtual martial law during a 12-hour raiding operation by the British army and RUC on Tuesday, August 7th. Shortly after 9am, dozens of British soldiers and RUC sealed off the greater Greenvale area, the only sizeable nationalist area of Cookstown.

During the 12 hours of raiding residents became virtual prisoners in their homes and all pedestrians and vehicles were stopped and searched moving in and out of the estate.

Out-houses and gardens were extensively searched throughout the estates, in what was a blanket operation. Three homes suffered extensive damage during the raids, including the home of Dermot Coyle, whose family has been consistently targetted for harassment following a successful appeal against the British government at

the European Court of Human Rights which forced Britain to derogate from the European Convention over the length of detention of suspects.

### HOME WRECKED

The Coyle family, who were away on holiday when the home was broken into, returned to find their home ransacked, the front and back doors smashed and security measures installed by the family following death threats, rendered useless.

After the raids Sinn Féin Coun-

cillor Sean Begley condemned the action of the crown forces; describing the Rathkeen and Greenvale estates as one of the most heavily militarised zones in Western Europe, he said:

"The British crown forces claim that raiding is no longer random, yet a 12-hour operation which placed an entire community under martial law yielded nothing beyond the mass intimidation and harassment of local residents.

"Also among the houses wrecked was that of Dermot Coyle who has again been targeted by the RUC. This latest incident in their vendetta against the Coyle family shows clearly the lengths to which they will go to silence and intimidate those people who, despite their vulnerability, are determined to expose the abuses of human rights in the Six Counties."

## Young people used in frame-up plot

GARDAI in Clondalkin in Dublin have attempted to entrap a young man into a bizarre frame-up of a prominent community activist and Sinn Féin member. Details of the plot have emerged after the latest victim approached the target of the frame-up attempt, John McCann, and revealed the Special Branch tactic.

John McCann is a well-known community worker in North Clondalkin and is active with local tenants' groups, parent-teacher committees and youth organisations, including groups helping young people who have run foul of the law. But in what looks like a ham-fisted

attempt to 'remove' McCann from the scene because of his political affiliations gardai have tried to blacken his name and force young people to co-operate in a frame-up.

The most blatant attempt so far was revealed when 21-year-old Patrick Ward from Palmer-

stown Woods told of his ordeal at the hands of Garda detectives. On the morning of Monday, July 9th he was travelling from Clondalkin Employment Exchange to his home when the number 51 bus on which he was a passenger was stopped by an unmarked Garda car containing two detectives.

### ARRESTED OFF BUS

A Detective Sheridan got onto the bus and proceeded to arrest Ward under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act. He was taken to Ruanstown Garda barracks and

was told he had been arrested in connection with arson attacks in the area in June of this year. A garda said to Ward: "McCann told us you burned the houses" and that he was "trying to stitch you up".

It soon became clear who was the target of the 'stitching-up' however when, according to Patrick Ward, the garda went to a locker and took out what looked like a wad of cannabis and a small box of bullets. The detective then threatened to 'stitch up' Ward for a break-in on a pub (where they said they had found a vodka bottle with Ward's fingerprints on it) if he did not plant the bullets and drugs in John McCann's house. They told him he could "drop them through his letter-box".

Ward refused to co-operate with their plot and he was held in the barracks for over nine hours before being released without charge.



● JOHN McCANN

John McCann told AP/RN that Patrick Ward had never met him before and that this was not the first incident of its kind. He cited three other cases that he

had been told of where young people who were arrested were asked to spy on his house and where they were questioned extensively about him.

### VENDETTA

Commenting on the activity of the gardai McCann said:

"They appear to be trying to use people to pursue a vendetta against me because of my membership of Sinn Féin. It seems to be an attempt to isolate Sinn Féin from the community and to target activists who are involved in their communities. I and other members of Sinn Féin are used to such tactics by the political police but it is their attempts to trap young people which is of most concern. Anyone who has had a similar experience should contact Sinn Féin.

"These attempts to deter us from our work with and on behalf of the community are doomed to failure."



# On líne tosaigh i Nicearagua

LE MAIRTIN O MUILLEOIR

COMHFHREAGRAI cogaidh na Gaeilge is ea Peardar Kirby agus leis an leabhar seo is déanaí uaidh ar cheist chasta Nicearagua tá cur síos fiúntach soléite curtha inár láthair aige. Is é bua na sárthuaisceoir cogaidh - bua a chleachtann banríon na ceirde, Martha Gellhorn - ná go ligeann siad don phobal labhairt lena dtuairimí féin a chur in iúl agus go seachnaíonn siad i gcónaí an fonn chun seanmóireachta.

Agus is é sin bua Kirby sa chinlae seo a choinnigh sé agus é i Meiriceá Láir ag tús 1988 le foireann 'Radhar' chun clár speisialta a dhéanamh do RTE. Cé gur mall atá sé curtha inár láthair - lochtaimis na clódóirí nó an t-údar? - cuirtear ruball leis ar thoghcháin Feabhra na bliana seo inar chuir mhuintir chráite Nicearagua Daniel Ortega as oifig.

Meas mór atá ag Kirby ar a bhfuil bainte amach ag na Saindinistigh ó tháinig siad i gcumhacht i 1979 - meas b'fhéidir a dhallaigh é ar cé chomh tuirseach is a bhí muintir na tíre leis an ghanntanas bia, drochchaighdeán maireachtaála agus sciúiní artola a bhí mar thoradh ar an chogadh fada leis na Contraigh. Tá urraim ar leith ag an údar ar "spioradáltacht" agus "draíocht" na réabhlóide ach ar ndóighe ní chuireann buanna cultúrtha bia i mbéal na mbochtán.

## CHAMORRO

Sa leabhar tá agallaimh leis na carachtair is tábhachtaí i scéal Nicearagua ina measc an tUachtarán nua, Violeta Chamorro. Iniseoidh an stair cad é chomh beacht is tá a bhreith uirthi: "Níl mórán teacht i láthair inti, agus is beag i an doimhneacht smaointe ná an eagna chinn a chuireann sí in iúl is i ag labhairt. An méid a bhí le

rá aici ba chosúla le sraith clichés é ...". Tá leis anailis ar ról na hEaglaise agus ar bholscaireacht aontaobhach an nuachtáin laethúil, La Prensa, a rinne an oiread sin dochar d'iomha na Saindinisteach.

Tá corrtagairt ann fosta do dhearcadh mhuintir Nicearagua ar Eirinn. Arsa Kirby: "Níl dabht dá laghad ach gurb é (Seán MacBride) an tEireannach is mó le rá ar fud Meiriceá Laidineach ar fad é. An t-aon Ghael eile go mbeadh a ainm cloiste go forleathan anseo ag na gnáthdhaoine ná Bobby Sands."

Tugann sé sampla de chinsireacht Alt 31 a chuireadh i bhfeidhm i Nicearagua. Bhí siad chun

agallamh a dhéanamh leis an mBroigáid Caife Eireannach ach bhí ceannaire na Broigáide - Seán O Flannaire as Baile Atha Cliath a bhí i gceist - ina bhall de Shinn Féin agus níorbh fhéidir le RTE é a scannánú.

## FEAR AN MHISNIGH

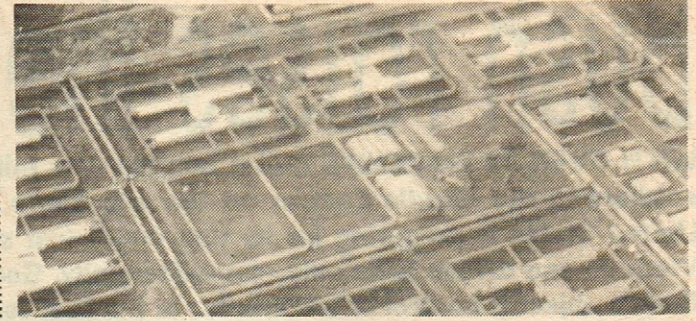
Níl aon amhras ná gur baineadh siar as an údar nuair a chaill Ortega toghchán mhí Feabhra ach tá dóchas aige go fóill go mbeidh an lá ag "fear an mhisnigh".

I réamhrá an leabhair miníonn Kirby cad chuige ar shocair sé an leabhar a scríobh i nGaeilge - is i is fearr dar leis a oireann don ábhar. Amach anseo beidh ar Kirby amharc siar ar an chinneadh sin agus a intinn féin a dhéanamh suas arbh beart críonna é an dialann a chur ar fáil i nGaeilge amháin. Lion na leabhar a dhiolfar an phríomhtheist ar an chinneadh sin. Caithimis féin ar vótai ar son an leagáin Ghaeilge - ceannaimis an leabhar.

Dialann ó Nicearagua. Peardar Kirby. An Clóchomhar Teo.



## Trí súile an chime



## COSTA DEL H-BLOCK

BA MHÓR an rachairt a bhí ar an Malibu le cúpla míosa anuas. 'Sea, Malibu, tá's agat an lóis "dath na gréine". Trí phunt ar an buidéal agus bhí tuairiscí ann go raibh Breandán O S... ag ól é chun a chraiceann a dhonnú in am dá scaoileadh saoir le linn mí Lúnasa.

Níl a fhios agam. Cé go bhfuil an Malibu déanta as bainne cnó cóco ní chreidim go mbéadh sa inóla. Ar ndóigh ní féidir a bheith cinnte anseo; is fada ó bhlaís cuid de na fir alcól ar bith agus cé fios nach ndéanfadh an Malibu póitín réasúnta maith? Ach ba dhaor é mar deoch ag £3 an buidéal mar is ionann sin agus unsa tobaic. Is iomaí duine mar sin a rinne iarracht iontach tacair, saor in aisce a aimsiú sular chuir sé a trí phunt luachmhar ar an bord don Malibu.

## FINEAGAR

Bhí fear áirithe anuraidh a mhíonn do gach duine go ndéanfadh fineagar an gnó. Bolaim é go fóill, é rósta sciúrsáilte ina lui ar a aonar mar mala scallópa tréigthe i lár an chlóis. Truaimhéalach. Agus ansin bhí duine eolasach eile a gheall go bhfuaiagheadh sé buí na gréine le cúnamh margairín Flora.

Bhí sé dóite ceart go leor agus tá imline greisceach sa chlós fós san áit ina raibh sé ina lui.

Níl aon chongar don lan-Tan seachas an Malibu, is léir, agus sin an fáth go raibh na cognoscenti ullmhaithe i mblianta lena solathair.

Bhí cuid againn, áfach, mar na maighdeana baotha. Bhí orainn 'braon beag' a fháil ar iasacht óna fir a raibh buidéal acu. Braon beag i ndiaidh braoin bige. Ba ghearr nó go raibh a mbuidéil follamh agus bhí sé ag an pointe sin a dúirt Felim na focail de-dhearmadta leis na iasachtaíthe thart timpeall.. "See yous, tá sibh go léir ag fáil bhuir ndathú gréine on my back!"

Is cinnte mar sin, go bhfuil sé anois chomh donn leis an cnó cóco as a tháinig a lóis Malibu. - LE EOGHAN MAC CORMAIC

## Ceacht Gaeilge

3

### Foghlaim:

dúnta, *shut*  
oscailte, *open*  
briste, *broken*  
stróicthe, *torn*  
caillte, *lost*  
caite, *worn out*  
déanta, *done*  
scríofa, *written*  
criochnaithe, *finished*  
imithe, *gone away*

an doras, *the door*  
an fhuinneog, *the window*  
an peann, *the pen*  
an leabhar, *the book*  
an t-airgead, *the money*  
an cóta, *the coat*  
an obair, *the work*  
an litir, *the letter*  
an ceacht, *the lesson*  
an peann luaidhe, *the pencil*

### Léigh:

1. Tá an doras dúnta.
2. Tá an fhuinneog oscailte.
3. Tá an peann briste.
4. Tá an leabhar stróicthe.
5. Tá an t-airgead caillte.
6. Tá an bhróg caite.
7. Tá an obair déanta.
8. Tá an ceacht críochnaithe.
9. Tá an litir scríofa.
10. Tá an fear imithe.

### Freagair:

1. Cad tá dúnta?
2. Cad tá oscailte?
3. Cad tá briste?
4. Cad tá stróicthe?
5. Cad tá caillte?
6. Cad tá caite?
7. Cad tá déanta?
8. Cad tá críochnaithe?
9. Cad tá scríofa?
10. Cé tá imithe?

### Cuir Gaeilge air seo:

1. The door is open.
2. The window is shut.
3. The pencil is broken.
4. The book is lost.
5. The coat is worn out.
6. The work is finished.
7. The lesson is written.
8. The child is gone away.
9. The pen is lost.
10. The book is torn.
11. The box is closed.
12. The shoe is worn out.
13. The window is broken.
14. The letter is finished.
15. The woman is gone away.
16. The road is long.
17. Brian is laughing.
18. Sean is coming in.

## Léacht Cuimhneacháin Phádraig Uí Dhonnchú

# Atheagrú na nGael idir chamána

DÉANTAR domhanmhachnamh sula dtugtar faoi atheagrú lucht na Gaeilge, arsa bunaitheoir Chumann na bhFiann, Domhnall O Lúbhlaí, agus é ag nochtadh a thuairimí féin ar an díospóireacht thintrí atá sa tsíúl faoi láthair idir na móreagrais Ghaeilge.

Agus é ag tabhairt céad Léacht Cuimhneacháin Phádraig Uí Dhonnchú i mBéal Feirste Déardaoin seo caite mhaigh an tUasal O Lúbhlaí gurbh fhiú do gach dream Gaelach aontú faoi bhrat Chonradh na Gaeilge i 1993 - bliain comórtha an Chonartha - ach aontas ar feadh na bliana sin amháin a bheadh ann agus cead ag gach eagraíocht a neamhspleáchas féin a choinneáil.

Ar na malllaibh d'iarr Uachtarán Chonradh na Gaeilge agus Cathaoirleach Bhord na Gaeilge, Proinsias

Mac Aonghusa, ar na heagrais Ghaeilge uilig a theacht le chéile faoi scáth an Chonartha láithreach mar thaispeántas nirt. Idir sin is tráthas d'éirigh idir Mac Aonghusa agus ceannaire Ghael Linn, Dónall O Móráin, fán cheist nuair a chuir saoise Ghael Linn suas don smaoineamh.

## RÉAMHULLMHÚCHÁIN

"Dream ar bith a thugann faoi atheagrú a dhéanamh ar a ngnóthaí suíonn siad síos agus déanann siad réamhullmhúcháin," arsa

Domhnall O Lúbhlaí. "Tá ceisteanna le freagairt ar dtús: 'Cén aidhm atá leis an atheagrú? An chun lucht labhartha na Gaeilge a eagrú in aon mhórgluaiseacht amháin is ea is aidhm leis an atheagrú?' Féach an díospóireacht a spreagfadh sé sin chun soiléirí cruinn beacht d'fháil agus aontas iomlán d'fháil air sin a bheith mar aidhm!"

"An de bhar go gcreidimid go gcuirfeadh atheagrú feabhas ar a bhfuil ar siúl againn is aidhm don ghnó seo? An é go gceapaimid nach bhfuil na structúir de na heagrais dheonacha ná de na heagrais státurraithe fóirstineach?"

Chomhairligh an díograiseoir teanga dá lucht éisteachta gan a bheith ag moladh an atheagraithe mar

go raibh siad míshásta leis an dul chun cinn a bhí déanta. Lean sé leis: "Duine ar bith a deir liom nach bhfuil aon dul chun cinn déanta níl na leabhair chuntais scrúdaithe i gceart aige. An moladh atá agam daoibh anocht ná tús a chur le scrúdú a dhéanamh ar na leabhair chuntais. Críochnóidh mé leis seo: 'Is é an gáire an uirlis chogaidh is fearr dá bhfuil againn. Feic an Piarasach ag rá gurb é an t-aon bhua é a bhronn Dia orainn, agus nár bhronn sé ar na brúid ná ar na haingil.'"

## GAEL DÍLIS

I ndiaidh na léachta - a eagraíodh faoi scáth Féile Iarthar Bhéal Feirste - bhronn Bairbre de Brún leabhar ar Domhnall O Lúbhlaí thar cheann Choiste Léacht Cuimhneacháin Phádraig Uí Dhonnchú. Foilseofar téacs iomlán na léachta amach anseo go luath. Gael dílis agus bunaitheoir Ghlóir na nGael i mBéal Feirste a bhí i bPádraig O Donnchú a fuair bás go hantráthach i mí Lúnasa anuraidh.



# Bush raises the stakes in the Gulf

**WITH OVER 40 WARSHIPS and a quarter of a million soldiers in the Middle East or on the way there, the United States is preparing for its first major war since Vietnam and Britain is its only real military ally. George Bush's object is control of oil reserves in the Gulf region but his military manoeuvres in the searing desert heat may turn out to be a costly gamble.**

His first mistake became obvious on Tuesday, August 14th, when a major row broke out on the United Nations Security Council. Bush has used a UN resolution for sanctions on Iraq as the excuse for his war moves. But his decision to blockade Iraq and to cut off food to that country goes beyond the sanctions policy which the UN has agreed.

For the first time during the present Middle East crisis, Bush brought down intense criticism upon himself in the UN. The US president was forced suddenly to break off his holiday in Maine. Other problems also surfaced as it began to dawn on the US people that they might be involved in the Middle East for at least 18 months.

## SETBACK

That setback for US military policy was followed on Tuesday night with news that Iraq had made proposals which would finally end hostilities with Iran. Since the end of the Iran/Iraq War in 1988, the two countries have continued to argue over their common border and over prisoners of war.

But Saddam's proposals would mean the return of the Iranian prisoners and Iraqi agreement with Iran over where the borders should be set. Such agreement removes any threat to Iraq from one of its oldest enemies and leaves Saddam free to concentrate on his other flanks.

Throughout the Arab world the US president's intentions became obvious this week and tens of thousands of people demonstrated against the US invasion. Pictures of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein appeared on walls in Palestine and Jordan where there were long queues of volunteers to fight in the Iraqi army.

The issue of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, like that of the brutality of the Iraqi regime, paled into insignificance as US warplanes loomed over the region. Arabs who refuse to follow the US dictat are now faced with a brutal choice — for or against Iraq.

## SUMMED UP

Their attitude was best summed up by Abu Ayyash Radwan, head of the Palestinian Journalists' Association, based in Jerusalem:

"People are emotionally backing Iraq. Their action in Kuwait is not viewed as an occupation but as a revolution against a reactionary regime, one that has never fully supported the Palestinians with either political or economic aid."

The gut political feeling of the Palestinians is partly based on their opposition to the feudal monarchies of the Gulf. These were set up by Britain, the former imperial power in the region and have transferred their allegiance to the US since the discovery of oil.

Despite the monarchs' formal commitment to the Palestinian cause, they have operated as a block to any serious action to create a democratic Palestine. In order to protect their huge investments in the West, they have, on the whole, helped to keep the Middle East poor by keeping the price of oil as low as possible. In effect, the rulers of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates have operated as the West's second bridgehead in the region. Israel is, of course, the first.

## NO PARLIAMENT

By 'protecting' Saudi Arabia, Bush is propping up one of the world's most undemocratic states.

There are no political parties and there is no parliament. The word of King Fahd is law. The royal family consumes extraordinary wealth. Saudi Arabia provides around 23% of the oil produced by the OPEC states and its reserves are expected to last for another century. By comparison, Britain's recently-discovered North Sea oilfield is running out.

The state was made 'independent' by Britain in 1927, but after the discovery of huge oil reserves, it came under the US umbrella. With one brief exception during the 1973 oil embargo when the Saudis helped drive up the price of petrol, the state has always backed US interests in the region. With 250,000 US troops on his territory, the Saudi ruler will lose any claims to independence.

During the last week, events have continued to build up the sense of tension in the Middle East. Although the United States announced it would be sending troops to Saudi Arabia on Tuesday, August 6th, it was not until the following Friday that the Saudi ruler announced the decision on his heavily censored broadcasting system.

## PUPPET GOVERNMENT

On August 7th Saddam announced that he would abolish the puppet Kuwaiti government he had set up directly after the invasion and that the territory would be annexed. This decision scuppered moves by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to unify Arab states. Mubarak's object was to set up an Arab force which would occupy Kuwait and oversee elections to democratise the state. That would have left control of events in the hands of the Egyptian leader, something the Iraqis were unable to accept.

The Iraqi leader followed this up by a sharp condemnation of the pro-Western princes and of those such as Mubarak who sought to defend them. In an address to all Muslims, he called for defence of Mecca and other holy places:

"Make it clear to your rulers, the

emirs of oil, that they serve the foreigner. Tell the traitors there is no place for them on Arab soil after they humiliated Arab honour and dignity." Islam's most holy site Mecca, which is in Saudi Arabia, was a "hostage of the Americans".

This statement was an appeal to the Arab masses over the heads of their leaders. It was designed to bring out support for the Iraqi cause in cities like Cairo and the Jordanian capital Amman. It had enormous effect and it was followed by another statement on Sunday which outlined an Iraqi peace proposal.

Saddam's peace initiative would mean that all the states in the Middle East which have occupied other countries should leave. Israel would have to retreat from the Occupied Territories of the West Bank, Gaza and the Lebanon. Syria would have to leave the Lebanon and the United States would have to pull its forces out of Saudi Arabia. That would, according to this proposal, make it possible for Iraq to leave Kuwait. It would also mean a massive climbdown by both the US and its Israeli client regime.

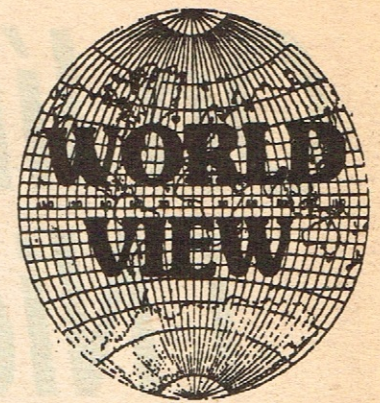
Once again, this initiative was welcomed in the Arab world but it seriously embarrassed rulers like Egypt's Mubarak.

US and British flags were burned in huge demonstrations. Memories of the crusades when "Christian knights" butchered Arabs in the name of the Lord, were revived. There was a march to the war cemetery in Mafraq in Jordan which houses the graves of Iraqi soldiers killed in conflict with Israel. A left-wing Jordanian parliamentarian told the marchers:

"Let's hit America, let's hit the reactionary American regime."

## DIFFERENT STORY

The force of this feeling drove the pro-British King Hussein of Jordan closer and closer to Iraq and to the radicals in the Arab world. But for Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, who has claimed in the past to be on the left, it was a different story.



Assad has had a long-lasting quarrel with Saddam, based on the struggle between the two leaders for power in the Arab world. While Assad has lined up with radical states like Libya in recent years, the prospect of a crisis for his rival pushed him into the arms of the right.

With Mubarak and with King Hassan of Morocco, Assad agreed to send Syrian troops into Saudi Arabia as part of an Arab force designed to act as a buffer between the Saudis and the US on one side and the Iraqis on the other.

Provocation by the US is now on everyone's mind, even if commentators do not admit it. Those who are old enough remember the Tonkin Gulf incident in 1964. On that occasion, US President Lyndon Johnson staged a conflict with Vietnamese forces in the Gulf which is off the coast of Vietnam. By claiming his forces had been fired on unjustifiably, Johnson persuaded the US Congress to allow a huge injection of forces into South Vietnam. This set the scene for the Vietnam War.

In the last quarter century, US power has declined somewhat throughout the world and Bush is determined to re-assert it. His bloodthirsty manoeuvres in the Middle East are all about oil in the first instance. But they are also about the standing of the US in world politics.

The power of imperialism is being tested out in the Arabian dust and in the boiling humidity of the Gulf. Saddam Hussein is a brutal dictator but his forces are standing between the region and the latest batch of crusading invaders. The Palestinians have chosen the Iraqi side; anti-imperialists throughout the world should respect their judgement. The stakes in this conflict are much more than the price of a barrel of oil.



● Protesters burn the Israeli flag and the Union Jack in Amman, Jordan





# The world of make-believe

LE DEIRDRE Nic an tSAOIR

THE WORLD of paperback fiction is a world of make-believe and a world of fantasy. It is often supposedly true to life, hence the descriptions true-life drama, crime novel and political thriller in the advertisements for pulp novels.

This may be true of many books, but I have seen very few plausible plots, never mind life-like characters, in fiction novels which deal with, or use, Ireland and the IRA in the themes. Most characters and plots are so ridiculous and harebrained that they could be dismissed as stupid were it not for the dangers in doing so; too many people believe these characters and the events that surround them to be reflections of reality.

These types of books should be seen and treated for what they are — another facet of the anti-republican propaganda machine. It is only through producing alternative, realistic, gripping and well-written books that the balance can be swayed towards the sensible again. *West Belfast* by Danny Morrison and *Last Night Another Soldier* by Aly Renwick

are examples of what can be achieved.

Recently a batch of these 'novels' arrived on my desk; my initial reaction was to bin them but curiosity got the better of me. I decided to investigate.

A rampaging RUC man runs amok in the Six Counties killing numerous IRA Volunteers, RUC men, SAS men and others in his quest to get to the truth of a grand conspiracy. *Summary Justice* by SJ Michaels is an example of the worst kind of fertile imagination.

The other books have the following ingredients:

A plan begun in the Second World War involving the IRA, British intelligence and East Germany's secret service, the loss of a convoy of ships and the Six Counties direct ruler an-

nouncing withdrawal;

Another announcement of withdrawal brought on by bribery, criminals, the IRA and others;

The kidnapping of the Prince of Wales, subsequent events, and a secret grouping in the IRA;

An RPG attack, a super-grass, the death of a 'nice' Brit, the capture of the Belfast Brigade and more;

An IRA unit, the capture of Leinster House, a renegade Black British officer who wants "to end it all", monks, car chases and loads of shooting;

Drugs, British aristocracy, bodies in Paris, Ireland and Sicily, and the Mafia thrown in for good measure;

A 'retired' Volunteer forced to return to Ireland, British agents, touts, good and bad cops and a love story.

These are the storylines, now match the titles.

● *The Trigger Man* by Joe Joyce. Published by Gill Hess. Hardback price £12.95 (Stg).

● *A Season in Hell* by Jack



Higgins. Published by Pan. Price £3.75

● *The Armalite Maiden* by Jonathan Kebbe. Published by Heinemann. Hardback price £12.95 (Stg).

● *Fields of Blood* by Gerald Seymour. Published by Fontana. Price £3.75.

● *A Legacy of Demons* by Pat Molloy. Published by Gomer

Press. Hardback price £8.75.

● *Emerald Decision* by David Grant. Published by Fontana. Price £1.50 (Stg) in 1980.

● *Rat Catcher* by Colin Dunne. Published by Arrow. Price £1.95 (Stg) in 1986.

● *Summary Justice* by SJ Dunne. Published by Pan. Price £3.50 (Stg).

## VOICE GROWING LOUDER

BY ART Mac EOIN

THE LATEST ISSUE of *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa* has taken the issue of women's oppression as its theme, with particular emphasis on the plight of women POWs. The talent of Irish republican prisoners in jails throughout Ireland and abroad once again shines out from the pages of the magazine with a range of well written short stories, poems and analytical articles contained within its 32 pages.

Women in Struggle, an article written as a joint effort by the women POWs in Maghaberry Jail, makes the point that it is inevitably women who bear the heaviest burden in all facets of struggle throughout Ireland, from the national liberation struggle to the daily grind of economic hardship and resistance to poverty. There are articles too by other women POWs such as Pauline Drumm incarcerated in

a French prison, Martina Anderson jailed in England and a short story by Ella O'Dwyer also imprisoned in England.

There are further articles on the subject of women and their position in contemporary society, written by male POWs Peter Whelan and Raymond McCartney and a short story by Laurence McKeown.

### SEGREGATION

Various other issues are

also covered and two articles which stand out are *People against Drugs*, an account of the history and development of the Concerned Parents Against Drugs movement, written by Dublin POW Brian Kenna, recently sentenced to 10 years in Portlaoise and an in-depth account of the segregation battle in Crumlin Road Jail by Danny Morrison. But the article which I found to be the most interesting was *Eastern Europe: Socialism or Barbarism*, a deep political analysis of the collapse of the various Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe, and its consequences for the credibility of socialism itself. The writer, Martin Livingstone, displays a deep political understanding and conveys his ideas in a sharp, easy to read manner.

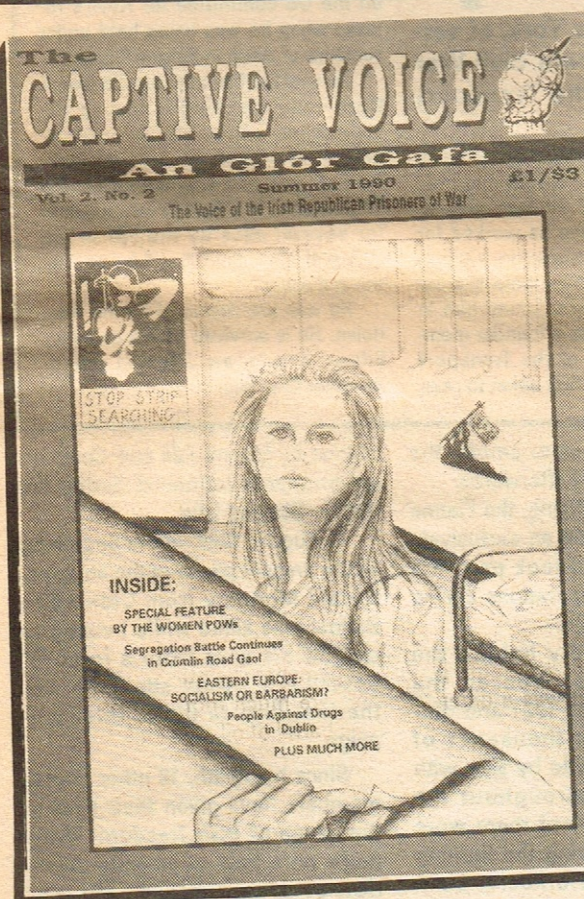
### TRANSLATION

Ceachtanna Tíreolaíochta by Eoghan Mac Cormaic is written in Irish with an English translation carried alongside. It details how the writer slowly came to realise the previously hidden class differences prevalent among pupils during his primary school days

In a highly informative article Irene Cullen, sister of POW Peter Sherry, held at Parkhurst Prison on the Isle of Wight, details the strain faced by families and friends of republican POWs in Britain.

The articles and short stories are interspersed with crosswords, quizzes, book reviews and cartoons and poetry all from the POWs.

● At just £1 *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa* is an enthralling read well worth the money.



## The CAPTIVE VOICE

FOR THOSE wishing to take out a subscription to *The Captive Voice*, the rates for four issues are:

Ireland, Wales, Scotland and England

.....£5

Europe (airmail) .....£6

Bulk order rates are available on request

Please make cheques/money orders

payable to:

**An Glór Gafa**

Send details to: The POW Department, 51/55 Falls Road, Belfast.

Tel: 249975. Fax: 231723.

## Imeachtaí

**ANTI-EXTRADITION WHITE-LINE PICKET**  
2.30pm every Saturday  
Falls Road/Whiterock Road Junction  
**BELFAST**  
Organised by Belfast Anti-Extradition Committee

**PICKET ON US EMBASSY**  
Opposing US policy in Central America  
11.30am-1pm  
Every Saturday  
Ballsbridge  
**DUBLIN**

**WHITE-LINE PICKET**  
Whiterock/Springfield Road Junction  
on anniversary of the death of each hunger-striker  
**BELFAST**

**WHITE-LINE PICKET**  
'Justice for all'  
6-7pm every Friday  
Finglas Dual Carriageway  
Janelle Shopping Centre  
**DUBLIN**

**SEGREGATION IN CRUMLIN ROAD JAIL**  
White-Line Picket  
5-6pm every Saturday  
Glenshane Road  
**MAGHERA**  
County Derry  
Organised by the County Derry Relatives Action Committee

**CIORCAIL COMHRA**  
9in gach Luan  
Club an Conartha  
6 Sráid an Fhearchair  
Baile Atha Cliath  
Irish Learners' Conversation Group  
9pm every Monday  
Conradh na Gaeilge Club  
6 Harcourt Street  
**DUBLIN**

**IRISH NIGHT**  
Music by Justice  
Friday 17th August  
Nikkitas  
Ravensdale House  
**DUNDALK**  
County Louth  
Táille: £3/Bar extension

**ANTI-EXTRADITION FUNCTION**  
Music by Bodhrán  
7.30pm Friday 24th August  
Molly Malones  
Green Street  
**DUBLIN**  
Táille: £2.50

**DESMOND GREAVES SUMMER SCHOOL**  
Friday August 24th to Sunday August 26th  
Kinlay House  
Lord Edward Street  
**DUBLIN**  
Fee: £8 for weekend, £2 per session  
Enquiries/fees: Phone 973154

**SEAN RUSSELL COMMEMORATION**  
Assemble 2.30pm  
Sunday 26th August  
Five Lamps  
March to Fairview Park  
**DUBLIN**

**BALLAD SESSION**  
Music by Rogues Gallery  
Friday 31st August  
Central House  
**CLONMELLON**  
County Westmeath  
Táille: £1  
In aid of An Cumann Cabhrach

**DEWSBURY 82 INNOCENT NATIONAL DEMO**  
Against racist attacks & police brutality  
Assemble 1pm  
Saturday 1st September  
Leeds Trades Union Council Club  
Chapeltown Road  
**LEEDS 7**  
Many speakers



# Tyrone by-election

**CONSTITUENTS in the Dungannon area look set to return to the polls for a Council by-election following the resignation of Sinn Féin Councillor Martin McCaughey.**

McCaughey relinquished his seat and handed in a letter of resignation to the Council because he feels his life and the life of his family has been placed in jeopardy following unfounded media speculation which has linked his name to the ambush in Cappagh, County Tyrone, in which two SAS men were killed.

In a statement handed in on Monday, August 13th, McCaughey informed the Council of his resignation citing pressure on his family and the threat to his own life posed by the media speculation. He added that he felt it impossible, in the light of the danger in which his life had been placed, fully to discharge his duties as a councillor and so saw

resignation as his only option.

In the wake of the resignation, Dungannon District councillors held a full meeting to decide what to do about the situation and on a suggestion from ex-UDR major Ken Maginnis, it was decided to ignore McCaughey's letter of resignation and disqualify him by declaring his seat vacant.

A special meeting of the Council will now have to be held to raise the unlikely option of co-opting a Sinn Féin replacement for McCaughey. It is believed, however, that the vacation of the seat will lead to a by-election which should occur some time in late September or early October. Sinn Féin will be standing a candidate at that time.

## REMEMBERING THE PAST Fianna Eireann

BY PETER O'ROURKE

**FIANNA EIREANN, the Republican Youth Movement has, for over 80 years, played an active role in the struggle for Irish freedom.**

Founded in August 1909 by Constance Markievicz and Bulmer Hobson, the declared aim of the organisation was "to re-establish the independence of Ireland" by means "of training the youth of Ireland to fight Ireland's fight when they are older".

Following Markievicz's lead, Fianna allied itself to the struggle of the Irish workers and played an active part in the Great Lock-Out of 1913. Its first casualty was Fian Patsy O'Connor who died in July

1915 as a result of injuries received during a baton charge by the Dublin Metropolitan Police in August 1913, while giving first-aid to an injured worker.

Fianna officers marshalled the inaugural meeting of the Irish Volunteers in November 1913 at the Rotunda, Dublin, and in July of the following year Fianna was considered by the IRB to be the only body at that time with sufficient discipline to be entrusted with ammunition at the Howth gun-running.

## OBITUARIES

### Thomas Hanna

**A LIFE-LONG REPUBLICAN, 74-year-old Thomas Hanna, died on Wednesday, August 8th, at his Twinbrook home having lost a long battle against illness.**

Born in Belfast's Belmont Street in 1917, Hanna grew up during a period of great turmoil and strife, culminating in the imposition of partition in 1921. Living in the Short Strand, Hanna's childhood was spent under the constant threat of sectarian attack and in the pogroms which followed the setting up of the Six-County statelet, the members of the Hanna family were burnt out of their home on not one, but on several occasions.

As a teenager Thomas Hanna was an active member of Fianna Eireann, going on when the time came, to serve as a member of Oglagh na hEireann in the Lower Falls. An early memory of Hanna is recalled when, at a meeting between representatives of the Northern IRA and de Valera in the

early '30s, Hanna refused to shake hands with the man he saw as being responsible for betraying the cause of Ireland.

#### FORTIES VOLUNTEER

As a Volunteer in the 1940s, Hanna operated mainly in England, at one period serving along with Peter Barnes and James McCormick, executed by the British in February 1940.

Interned on the prison ship *Al Rawdah* and later in Crumlin Road Jail, Hanna was the last prisoner to speak to Tom Williams before he was hanged. As Williams passed his cell Hanna shouted "up the rebels" much to the chagrin of screws who rushed to force him away from the door.

In the late '60s when the bodies of Barnes and McCormick were finally brought back to Ireland Thomas Hanna, along with Jimmy Steele, was one of the five Volunteers chosen for the hon-



● Thomas Hanna pictured in 1944

our of escorting the bodies to their final resting-place.

When the split in the Republican Movement came in 1969/70 Hanna remained true to the republican tradition, refusing to be duped by the policies of the reformist Goulding/MacGiolla leadership. He remained active in 'D' Company, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade. In later years, although ill-health and old age prevented him from playing an active part in the struggle, Hanna remained committed to the republican ideal. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a anam.

### Gerald O'Reilly

**THE DEATH has occurred in Long Beach, New York, of veteran republican Gerald O'Reilly. The 87-year-old Civil War veteran was also a founding member of the Transport Workers' Union in America.**

He was captured by Free Staters during the Civil War but was released from Dundalk military barracks when it was recaptured by Frank Aiken on August 13th, 1922. He then served in Aiken's Fourth Northern Division.

He played an active role in the takeover of Mountjoy Jail in 1925 with George Gilmore, in which several leading republicans successfully escaped.

Following the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins he was arrested and held until Christmas 1927. He then emigrated to America where he worked for New York's public transport system. Many of his co-workers were also republican emigres who joined him in Clan na Gael. He was a founder member, in May 1934, of the Transport Workers' Union, the first union to cater

for the rank-and-file workers.

He was a close friend of leading republican Frank Ryan, their letters during the Spanish Civil War being of great historical interest. He also headed the US committee for Ryan's release when he was being held under sentence of death in Burgos Prison.

He was the first person with whom Ryan communicated following the abortive trip to Ireland by German submarine in which his comrade Seán Russell died and was buried at sea. This resulted in O'Reilly's interrogation for several days by the FBI in the spring of 1941, the US still being neutral in the war.

He was pre-deceased by his wife, Helen. He is survived by his daughter Eileen, son-in-law Jim and granddaughter Christina.

The first shots of the 1916 Rising were fired by a Fianna unit in the take-over of the Magazine Fort — a British army arsenal in Dublin's Phoenix Park. Throughout Easter Week Fianna members carried dispatches, acted as scouts and occupied posts in St Stephen's Green, the Mendicity Institute and the South Dublin Union.

#### LEADERS

Four Fianna were killed in the fighting, and two, Seán Heuston

and Con Colbert, were among the 16 leaders executed afterwards.

After the 1916 Rising, the Fianna was re-organised on an exclusively military basis and took part in a large number of operations during the Tan War 1919-'21.

Standing solidly behind the Republic, Fianna opposed the Treaty of December 1921 and during the Civil War thousands of members fought side by side with IRA Volunteers throughout the country. A number of them were killed in action during the fighting while two Fianna officers, Liam Mellows and Joe McKelvey, were executed by firing squad in Mountjoy Jail in December 1922.

Re-organised in 1925, the emphasis in Fianna was changed from rifle and revolver practice towards education and physical training. Despite the change in emphasis of the organisation, Fianna was continually harassed by the Free State government under the Treasonable Offences Act 1925 and in the Six Counties Fianna Eireann was declared an illegal organisation. To this day it remains a proscribed organisation in the North.

#### BAN REMOVED

In 1931 the ban was extended to the South by the Cumann na nGaedhal government only to be removed again by de Valera when Fianna Fáil came to power a year later. However, harassment of the

Fianna by Fianna Fáil and Coalition governments continued during the 1940s, '50s and '60s.

In August 1969, at the beginning of the present phase of the struggle, Gerald McAuley from Clonard in Belfast was killed while helping to defend his area from a joint 'B' Special and loyalist attack. He was the first Fian to die in this campaign.

Since his death, 18 other Fianna members have given their lives in the cause of Irish freedom. Many more were held in juvenile detention centres, remand jails and prison camps throughout the country.

Despite being proscribed in the North under the Emergency Provisions Act 1973, Fianna Eireann has played an active role in the present struggle over the past 20 years. In the 26 Counties, Fianna, an open and legal organisation since 1932, through its educational, scouting, cultural and social activities, caters for the youngest members of the Republican Movement.

Today, its primary objective remains the promotion of the principles of Irish republicanism among the youth of Ireland and thereby to aid the establishment of a 32-County democratic, socialist republic.

Fianna Eireann was founded on August 16th, 1909, 81 years ago this week.





# I nDíl Chuimhne

**CONVERY, Brendan** (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Brendan Convery, who died in a shoot-out with the hated SAS on August 13th 1983. "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." Throid sé agus fuair sé bás ar son muintir na hEireann. Always remembered by the Brendan Convery Flute Band, Bellaghy.

**DEVINE, Mickey** (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Mickey Devine, who died on hunger-strike on August 20th 1981. "Life springs from death and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations." Always remembered by Mr and Mrs McDonnell and family at home and abroad.

**DEVINE, Mickey** (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of INLA Vol Mickey Devine, who died on August 20th 1981. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered by Frank Connors, Charlestown, USA.

**DOHERTY, Kieran** (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Kieran Doherty, Oglagh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on August 2nd 1981. Remembered with pride by Seamus and Dermot.

**DOWNES, John** (6th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of John Downes who was murdered by the RUC on August 12th 1984. Always remembered by Paddy and Brian, Dublin.

**DUFFY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). Treasured memories today and always of our beloved son and brother Seamus, murdered by the RUC on August 9th 1989. RIP. Mary, Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, pray for him. To have, to hold and then to part is the greatest trial for the human heart. Sad are the hearts that love you Seamus, silent the tears that fall, but living life without you son is the saddest part of all. Always remembered by his mother and father, brother Brendan and sister Brónagh.

**DUFFY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Seamus who was murdered by the RUC with a plastic bullet on August 9th 1989. It's a lonely life without you Seamus and nothing seems the same, all I have are memories and your photo in a frame. I travel to your resting place and each flower I place with care, but no-one knows the heartache as I turn and leave you there. Always remembered by his loving sister Christine, brother-in-law Patrick and nephew Patrick.

**DUFFY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my brother Seamus who was murdered by the RUC with a plastic bullet on August 9th 1989. RIP. Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on him. If we could visit Heaven on this our saddest day then maybe for one moment the pain would go away. We would put our arms around you and whisper words so true, our lives have been so empty since the day that we lost you. As we put flowers on your place of rest, we know God only chooses the best. Sadly missed by his brother Brendan and girlfriend Sinéad.

**DUFFY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of our dear grandson Seamus who was murdered by the RUC on August 9th 1989. RIP. Padre Pio, pray for him. May he rest in peace. Dear Jesus in Thy heavenly home

above with the sacred heart of Jesus in his own eternal love. Always loved and remembered by his granny and granda Cassidy.

**DUFFY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of our dear nephew and cousin Seamus, murdered by the RUC on August 9th 1989. RIP. Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, pray for him. Time has a way of skipping by but the memories of you will never die. Sadly missed by his uncle John, aunt Pauline and cousins.

**DUFFY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of our nephew Seamus who was murdered by the RUC on August 9th 1989. RIP. Our Lady of Lourdes, pray for him. Will those who think of him today, a little prayer to Jesus say. Sadly missed by uncle Michael, Adel and wee Michael.

**DUFFY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of Seamus who was killed by a plastic bullet on August 9th 1989. RIP. Never from the hearts that love you, will your memory ever fade, your memory is our greatest treasure to love, to cherish, to keep, forever. Our Lady, pray for him. Sadly missed by his uncle Kevin, aunt Susie and cousins.

**DUFFY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear nephew Seamus who was murdered by the RUC on August 9th 1989. RIP. Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, pray for him. Time has a way of skipping by but precious memories never die. Always loved and remembered by his aunt Mary, uncle Hugh and cousins.

**DUFFY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear nephew Seamus who was murdered by the RUC on August 9th 1989. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. Always loved and remembered by his aunt Brenda, husband John and family.

**DUFFY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my nephew Seamus who was murdered by the RUC on August 9th 1989. Saint Martin, pray for him. Always loved and remembered by his aunt Anna, husband Dee and family.

**DUFFY, Seamus** (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of Seamus who was killed by the RUC on August 9th 1989. You were our friend, our pal, forget you, no, we never shall. You shared our joys, our sorrows too, God bless you Seamus, we miss you. Sadly missed by Sean, Jason, Seamus and Eugene.

**HEALEY, Desmond** (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of a dear son and brother Desmond Healey, who was murdered by the Paras on August 9th 1971. RIP. Mary, Queen of the Gael, protect him. "The price of freedom is a terrible price and tragically it is so often paid by great sacrifice. Many suffer so that someday all Irish men and women may know justice and peace. Many die fighting oppression so that future generations may live in freedom and prosperity. All of us must pay the price of freedom in some way." — Bobby Sands. Will never be forgotten by his

loving mother and brother Michael.

**LAFFERTY, Eamonn** (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Eamonn Lafferty, Derry Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, who was shot dead by British soldiers on August 18th 1971. Fuair sé bás ar son na saoirse. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Derry Brigade.

**MAGORRIAN, Paul** (15th Anniversary). South Down Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, remembers with pride Vol Paul Magorrian, who died on August 14th 1973 while on active service. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh sé. Ní dhéanfar dearmad ort.

**MAGORRIAN, Paul** (16th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear son Paul Magorrian, who was killed in action on August 14th 1974. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Sweet memories are always kept of a son we shall never forget. From his loving mother and father.

**MAGORRIAN, Paul** (16th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Paul Magorrian, who was shot dead by British soldiers on August 14th 1974. Sadly missed by his brother Kenneth and sister-in-law Veronica.

**MAGORRIAN, Paul** (16th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Paul Magorrian, who was shot dead by British soldiers on August 14th 1974. Sadly missed by his brother Colm (Long Kesh).

**MAGORRIAN, Paul** (16th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear brother Paul Magorrian, who was shot dead by British soldiers on August 14th 1974. Sadly missed by his sisters Joan, Mary and Angela.

**MARKS, Gerard** (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Gerard Marks. Always remembered by the John Mitchel Cumann, Newry Sinn Féin.

**MARKS, Gerard** (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Gerard Marks. Always remembered by Newry PDF.

**McANALLEN, Daniel; QUINN, Patrick** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Daniel McAnallen and Patrick Quinn, Oglagh na hEireann, who were killed on active service on August 16th 1973. Fuair siad bás ar son muintir na hEireann. Always remembered by Oglagh na hEireann, County Tyrone.

**McANALLEN, Daniel; QUINN, Patsy** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Daniel McAnallen and Patsy Quinn, who died on August 16th 1973. Always remembered by South Tyrone Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

**McANALLEN, Daniel; QUINN, Patsy** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Daniel McAnallen and Patsy Quinn, who died on August 16th 1973. Always remembered by Dungannon Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

**McANALLEN, Daniel; QUINN, Patsy** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Daniel McAnallen and Patsy Quinn, who died on August 16th 1973.

Always remembered by Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

**McANALLEN, Daniel; QUINN, Patsy** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Daniel McAnallen and Patsy Quinn, who died on August 16th 1973. Always remembered by Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

**McANALLEN, Daniel; QUINN, Patsy** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Daniel McAnallen and Patsy Quinn, who died on August 16th 1973. Always remembered by the Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann.

**McANALLEN, Daniel; QUINN, Patsy** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Daniel McAnallen and my dear brother Patsy Quinn, who died on August 16th 1973. They had lived for their people, for their country they died. They were all that to life had entwined them. Nor soon shall the tears of their country be dried. Nor soon shall we forget why they fought and died. Always remembered by Frankie Quinn (Crumlin Road).

**McAULEY, Gerald** (21st Anniversary). Fianna Eireann remembers with pride Fian Gerald McAuley who was shot dead in a gun battle on August 15th 1969. "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution."

**McAULEY, Gerald** (21st Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear son Gerald McAuley, who died on August 15th 1969. Our Lady of Lourdes, pray for him. Years have passed without you son, I think of you each day, but missing you is the heartache that never goes away. Loved and remembered by his loving mother Ellen McAuley.

**McAULEY, Gerald** (21st Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear brother Gerald McAuley, who died on August 15th 1969. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. Falling tears and aching hearts are things that are always there but losing you the way we did will always seem unfair. Always loved and remembered by his loving sister Rita and nephews Joseph and Jim.

**McAULEY, Gerald** (21st Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear brother Gerald McAuley, who died on August 15th 1969. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Thank you for the years we shared, the love you gave, the way you cared. Always loved and remembered by his loving sister Francis and niece Gemma.

**McAULEY, Gerald** (21st Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear brother Gerald McAuley, who died on August 15th 1969. Always loved and remembered by his loving brother Liam, Katrina and Liam Og.

**McDONNELL, Patrick** (6th Anniversary); **McDONNELL, Eileen** (5th Anniversary). In loving memory of Patrick who died on July 21st 1984 and Eileen who died on May 28th 1985, dear parents of Gerard McDonnell (Leicester). Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for them. Always remembered by Frank Connors, Charlestown, USA.

**McELWEE, Tom** (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Tom

McElwee, Oglagh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on August 8th 1981. Remembered by pride by Seamus and Dermot.

**McELWEE, Thomas** (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Thomas McElwee, who died on hunger-strike on August 8th 1981. "The road to freedom is paved with suffering, hardship and torture. Carry on, my brave and gallant comrades, until that certain day." — Tom Williams. Always remembered by Mr and Mrs McDonnell and family at home and abroad.

**O'HAGAN, James** (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol James O'Hagan, Derry Brigade, Oglagh na hEireann, who was shot by British forces on August 19th 1971. "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Derry Brigade.

**O'TOOLE, George** (4th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend George O'Toole who died on August 6th 1986. Always remembered by the National Graves Association, Lurgan.

**O'TOOLE, George** (4th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend George O'Toole who died on August 6th 1986. Always remembered by Upper Bann Sinn Féin.

**QUINN, Patsy** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear son and brother Vol Patsy Quinn, who died on active service on August 16th 1973. St Martin, pray for him. A prayer, a tear, to the end of time for a wonderful son I was proud to call mine. Always loved and remembered by his loving mother, father and brothers Gerard and Michael, Dungannon.

**QUINN, Patsy** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Patsy Quinn, who died on active service on August 16th 1973. We cannot bring the old times back, when we were all together but memories of you will live in our hearts forever. Sleep, Irish soldier, sleep. Always remembered by his sister Paula, brother-in-law Brian and Alanna.

**QUINN, Patsy** (17th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Patsy Quinn, who died on active service on August 16th 1973. No longer in our lives to share but in our hearts you are always there. "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." — Pádraig Mac Piarais. Always remembered by his sister Jacqueline, brother-in-law Sean, Ciaran, Edel and Ryan.

**WATTERS, Brendan** (6th Anniversary). In proud and everlasting memory of Vol Brendan 'Cindy' Watters, South Down Command, Oglagh na hEireann, who lost his life fighting for the freedom of Ireland and the Irish people on August 8th 1984. "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." — Che Guevara. Remembered with pride and affection by Seán 'Jock' and family, Glasgow. UTP.

**WATTERS, Brendan** (6th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Brendan Watters, South Down Command, Oglagh na hEireann, who died while on active service for Ireland's freedom on August 8th 1984. "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." — Pádraig Mac Piarais. Always remembered with pride by the Young Republican Flute Band, Glasgow.

## JOIN SINN FEIN



**SINN FEIN is dedicated to forcing a British withdrawal from the occupied Six Counties, the re-unification of our country and the establishment of a democratic socialist republic.**

If you would like to join Sinn Féin, or find out more about our activities and policies, fill in the form below and send it to Sinn Féin, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Name.....

Address.....

Tel.....

## DRAW RESULTS

**Irish Hunger-Strike Commemoration Committee (Birmingham)**

**Draw Results:**

1st prize, Plaque: No 000524; 2nd prize, Framed Photo: No 000092; 3rd prize, Wallet: No 000531; 4th prize, Book: No 000538.

**Irish Political Prisoners in Europe Solidarity Group Ballot**

**Draw Results:**

1st prize, £200: No 3513, D McCann, Glasgow; 2nd prize, £100: No 2650, J Gallagher, Glasgow; 3rd prize, £50: Kev Hartley Junior, Pollok Republican Band.

**Armagh/Newry/Monaghan/Louth Transport Appeal**

**Draw Results:**

1st prize, £100: G Marks, Newry; 2nd prize, Portlaoise Handbag: J Moan, Newry; 3rd prize, Portlaoise Wallet: Al Harper, Dundalk; 4th prize, Portlaoise Purse: M McEntaggart, Armagh.

## Comhbhrón

**DUFFY.** Heartfelt sympathy is extended to Cathleen and the entire Duffy family. From Upper Bann Sinn Féin.

**McALLISTER.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Jim McAllister and family on the death of his brother John. From Richard and Chrissie.

**McALLISTER.** Heartfelt sympathy is extended to Jim McAllister on the death of Seán. From Brendan and Sheena.

**McALLISTER.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Jim McAllister and the entire McAllister family on the recent death of Jim's brother John. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. From Eithne McAteer.

**McALLISTER.** Deepest sympathy is extended to Jim McAllister and the en-

tire McAllister family on the recent death of Jim's brother John. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. From the McCreeh/McCabe Sinn Féin Cumann, Silverbridge, South Armagh.

**McCULLAGH.** Sincerest sympathy is extended to the McCullagh family and especially to our friend and comrade Brian, on the sad news of the death of their mother Bernadette earlier this week. From the republican POWs, Ceis Fhada.



## Beannachtaí

**MURRAY, Brian** (H-Block 7). Birthday and wedding anniversary greetings. From Mary, Kevin, Aisling and Emmet. XXX



## NOTICES DEADLINE

All notices should be in our Dublin or Belfast offices no later than 5pm Monday for inclusion in that week's paper.





# THE FLYING COLUMN

## MILITARY SPECTACLE IN HYDE PARK

The Queen Mum's 90th Birthday was celebrated in brilliant sunshine at noon on Saturday, August 4th, with a 41-gun salute by the King's Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.

Impressive were the two very smartly turned-out mounted Royal Military Police women on their immaculately-groomed horses.

Impressive was the ceremony itself, with gleaming guns and limbers, brilliant timing and excellent horsemanship.

Not so impressive was the hurried departure after the event of the senior officers on the reviewing stand. The uniformed major and captain attending took their hurried leave without finding time for a salute or a word of farewell to a handful of be-ribboned Chelsea Pensioners (the major in a 'civilianised' Vauxhall and the rest of the VIPs in a crowded white Sherpa van). It all looked very unseemly and, dare I say it, rather un-British.

The final indignity, however, was reserved for the poor squaddies who were marched smartly away to a waiting civilian bus, hired from Drenton's of Blackheath, where they were obliged to change out of their uniforms in full view of hundreds of tourists before making the hazardous journey the few miles along Park Lane and on to their barracks at St John's Wood. Toy soldiers one minute, embarrassed men juggling with underpants the next and presto — just another seeming busload of football hooligans on their way to a match.

The watching tourists couldn't make head nor tail of it all — first pomp and circumstance, and the Brits are very good at that — and then pure comedy.

Just two conclusions:

1. There is little point in

grand gestures saluting a Royal figurehead if genuine war veterans are insulted in the process.

2. If the officers of the King's Troop are too frightened to tarry in broad daylight in Central London whilst surrounded by the 'finest of the Met', they should consider taking early retirement. What a pity that the term LMF (Lacking Moral Fibre) has gone out of use in today's army.

Finally, what did the pear-shaped colonel (looking like a cross between Sergeant Bilko and Gerry Fitt) think he was doing scurrying around with three gun charges in his hands? If he wanted to work he should have been in uniform! I suppose though, with his rank and the prevailing hysteria, that would have meant laying on Concorde to

take him back to barracks.

Sack the lot of them, I say, and put the two smiling, relaxed young mounted policewomen in charge.

Evenin' all.

**WHY NOT CALL THE *Sunday Mirror* Forces' ACTION LINE.** This is a unique opportunity to give your response to the Brits' proposed defence cuts. A "panel of experts" is available to answer your questions.

Its London phone number is 071-822 2525 and "if you're worried about revealing your identity, don't forget that all calls will be treated in the strictest confidence".

You could end up talking to Ann Armstrong, who has advised

Brits on their problems in *Soldier* magazine for the past 15 years, or Peter Howard, editor of *Jane's Defence Weekly*, or even Lieutenant Colonel Robert Jarman of the Glorious Gloucesters.

It could be good for a laugh. Don't forget to discuss the benefits and advantages of an early withdrawal of their 11,000 beleaguered colleagues in the Six Counties.

## US SHADY DUPLICITY AND JOE DOC

"AN IRISHMAN in Jail Equals a Cuban Out on Bail", is the title of a recent incisive article in the *Wall Street Journal*, which exposes the contradictions involved in the US government's persistence in keeping Joe Doherty imprisoned.

Alexander Cockburn contrasts Doherty's position with that of Orlando Bosch, whom he describes as "a Cuban, convicted felon, a man once charged with masterminding the bombing of a civilian airliner in which 73 people died".

Bosch was paroled in Miami, Florida, on July 17th. He enjoys a measure of freedom, although he is electronically tagged, is only allowed out for three hours a day and is not allowed to speak with anti-Castro militants. Despite eight consecutive victories in US courts, Doherty remains imprisoned, now entering his eighth year in the Manhattan Correctional Center.

"Bosch is free on parole and Doherty, denied bail, is confined to a matchbox cell in a prison never designed for long-term occupancy, hence offering none of the facilities other prisons are compelled to offer. See the double standards maintained by the Bush administration eager to pander to political friends in Miami's Cuban-American community, and in London," says Cockburn.

Bosch has a long history. His anti-Castro group, Accion Cubana, in 1968 blew up a Japanese freighter in Tampa, damaged a British vessel in Key West and bombed eight diplomatic or tourist offices in New York and Los Angeles in order to punish nations doing business with Cuba. He was sentenced that year to ten years for firing a bazooka at a Polish freighter and was paroled four years later.

He fled America in 1974 and in 1976 his group met in the Dominican Republic with other emigré organisations such as Alpha 66. They issued a "war communiqué", saying that Cuban civilian airliners would be attacked. Later that year a Cuban airliner was blown up in mid-air shortly after take-off from Barbados. Seventy-three people died, including the full Cuban Olympic fencing team.



Bosch and two others were convicted in a Venezuelan court but were later acquitted on appeal. Another co-accused, Luis Posada Carriles, who escaped, was later implicated in the Iran/Contra scandal, funnelling illegal arms shipments to the Contras in Nicaragua alongside a former CIA buddy of George Bush. Bush was director of the CIA when Bosch was hatching his terror schemes in the Dominican Republic.

Bosch wasn't released until 1987, when he warned that "all of Castro's airplanes are warplanes".

In 1988 he returned to the US where he was arrested for parole violation. A Cuban application for his deportation to face charges was denied on the grounds that he wouldn't receive a fair trial. An application for political asylum was rejected in January 1989, the acting associate attorney general saying:

"He has repeatedly expressed and demonstrated a willingness to cause indiscriminate injury and death."

Now he has been granted parole, after a campaign which had the support of Bush's son, Jeb.

Cockburn goes through the details of Doherty's case, from the military engagement in Belfast in which an SAS captain was killed to the continuing refusal to grant Joe bail, despite seven full years of incarceration without charge and his legal victories, the latest allowing him to apply for political asylum.

The *Wall Street Journal* columnist concludes:

"So Doherty can't get bail, even though he manifestly doesn't want to flee, given that he is litigating his ability to stay in the US. Bosch got ten years for bombing a Polish vessel and for conveying by telegraph threats to the president of Mexico and Prime Minister Harold Wilson. He violated parole and became a fugitive under US law. Despite this, Bosch is released and Doherty held in his cell. The Irishman should hispanicise his name, make more influential friends in Miami and start threatening Fidel Castro. This is the essential extrajudicial factor he has overlooked."

**A NEWS OF THE WORLD** hotline meanwhile panders to mass anti-Iraqi hysteria. General Sir John Hackett, former Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces, last week answered such relevant questions as:

"Could Iraqi agents poison our food?"

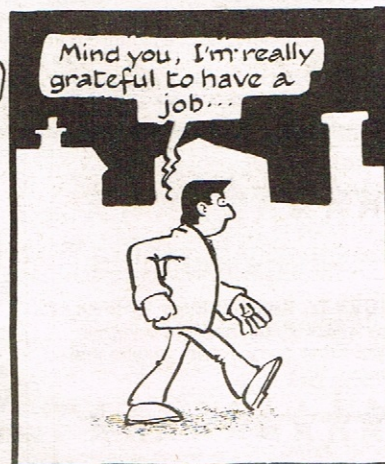
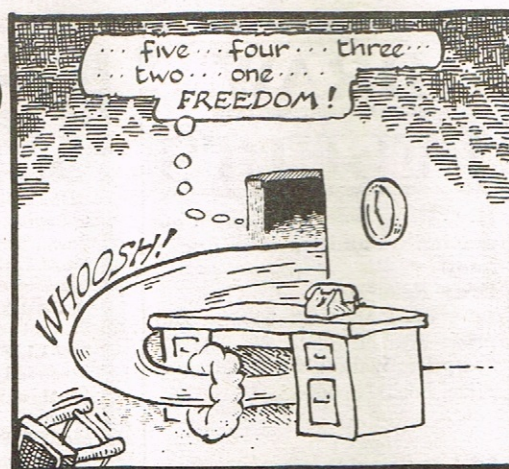
"Parts for an Iraqi super-gun were seized months ago. Has Hussein got another one and is it aimed at Britain?"

"Why can't we send the SAS to Baghdad to assassinate Hussein?"

The 'leading defence expert's' answer to this query is: "Because the government doesn't like using assassination as a political weapon. (Tell that to the relatives of the Gibraltar Three.) But if the West was to eliminate Hussein, the SAS would be the best men for the job."



One minute and fifteen seconds ... one minute and fourteen seconds ... one minute and thirteen seconds ...



## Dúirt Siad

The Hezbollah of the Apprentice Boys... — Derek Millar, general secretary of the Apprentice Boys of Derry, on the Paisleyite protesters who objected to the organisation's proposed acceptance of money from the International Fund for Ireland.

We think we know them so well. Roll the word "Irishman" around in your mouth and see what attaches to it: drunken Irishman, stupid Irishman, aggressive, rebellious Irishman. The location of the Irish ghetto is the English mind, and it's a special, unique and long-established place. Compared to it, prejudice against, say, Afro-Caribbeans is a straightforward phenomenon with shallow roots and the simple explanation of stark, superficial difference. The Irishman walks down the English street and he's the same as everyone else, a free man. Then he opens his mouth and he's back in his box. — Peter Popham, in an article on the Irish in London in the English *Independent* magazine of Saturday last, August 11th.

It is not surprising if the Irish in England feel insecure: their situation here is a tissue of anomalies. They are as free to come and go as if they were British citizens. They have the automatic right to vote in British elections, even though the Republic is a sovereign state and not even a member of the Commonwealth. At the same time, as if to compensate for these bizarre indulgences, they live in constant fear of being picked up under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, for the crime of having an Irish accent. This can ruin a career, even if, as is the case for the vast majority, they are released without being charged. The appalling injustices that befell people like the Guildford Four are never too far from their minds. England takes the Irish to its bosom, the better to get a purchase on their throats. — Peter Popham.

We were pleased, in a way, to learn that the fighting and bombing was confined to the parts of the city where the Kuwaitis live and not where the expatriates are living. — Dublin's Foreign Minister Gerry Collins, diplomatic as ever, on RTE.